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The Divine comedy of Dante

Dante Alighieri, Marvin Richardson Vincent

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THE DIVINE COMEDY
OF DANTE

THE INFERNO

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Dante Alighieri

THE DIVINE COMEDY OF DANTE

THE INFERNO

A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF SACRED LITERATURE IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK

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1904

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TO

ISOBEL MACKERGO TAYLOR

MY COMPANION AND PUPIL

IN THE STUDY OF

DANTE

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PREFACE

THE last quarter of a century has witnessed such a notable revival of interest in Dante, and so many valuable contributions to the Dante-literature, that I have been led to believe that there is room for a new Translation and Commentary, in the light of these later contributions. Many of the fruits of these are contained in the Commentary, many more in the Translation.

I have made a literal translation, and have not attempted to produce a smooth and elegant English poem. Such an attempt will inevitably land any translator in florid paraphrase. One who studies the Commedia only through the medium of a translation, must be content with a partial impression of its beauty, grandeur, and power. At the very best, translation is "disenchantment"; but certainly the spell will not be restored by rhetorical amplifications, by diluting Dante's thought into conventional commonplace, or by emasculating his vigorous diction to meet the demands of conventional propriety. Literal translation will confront its readers with not a few novel, startling, and occasionally disagreeable forms of expression. For these, Dante, and not his translator, must be held responsible.

I have used the texts of Witte, Scartazzini, and Moore; but the basis of the Translation is the Oxford text of Dr. Moore.

Not even native Italian students of Dante are beyond the need of commentaries, as is shown by the number and the dimensions of those which have been appearing in Italy from

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a very early date. Much more is such aid required by readers who are unacquainted with the original. Such readers have been kept prominently in view in the preparation of the notes.

I shall not attempt a catalogue of the numerous works upon which I have drawn. My obligations are many. I have freely availed myself of the enormous labors of Dr. Scartazzini and of the important and deeply interesting contributions of Dr. Edward Moore. To these names I may add Philalethes (King John of Saxony), Arthur J. Butler, the Honorable William Warren Vernon, Franz Xaver Kraus, Paolo Perez, and Alfred Bassermann. I have derived valuable suggestions from the prose translations of Professor Norton and of Mr. Oelsner, and also from that of Mr. Arthur J. Butler with its scholarly notes. The notes of Mr. H. F. Tozer have been useful, as have been the metrical versions of Cary and Longfellow. Obligations to Professor Fay's invaluable Concordance, Dr. Scartazzini's "Encyclopædia Dantesca," and Mr. Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary," go without saying. My old friend, Dr. Charlton T. Lewis, died before the completion of my task, in which, from the beginning, he manifested a warm interest, and in the prosecution of which his consummate scholarship and his extensive library were always at my command.

I may add a word as to the relation of this book to my strictly professional work. I have long believed that the study of Dante ought to form a part of the curriculum of every theological institution. The department of Church History is compelled to deal largely with the Mediæval Church; and the history of Theology cannot pass over Aristotle and the company of the great Scholastic Divines whose methods he inspired, and whose works played so important a part in Dante's literary training. No well-equipped clergyman can afford to be ignorant of these; but in order to know the Middle Ages, it is indispensable to know Dante, who is the exponent not only

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of their society and their politics, but equally of their ethics, their theology, and their ecclesiasticism.

The second part of the work, the "Purgatorio," is about ready for the press and will appear in due time.

M. R. V.

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INTRODUCTORY

NAME OF THE POEM

Dante calls his poem *Commedia* in Inf. XVI. 128 and XXI. 2. He explains this title in the letter to Can Grande della Scala in which he dedicates to him the Paradise: saying that he calls it a Comedy because it begins horribly with Hell and ends happily in Paradise: and since a Comedy is, according to the derivation of the word, a village-poem, he further gives this name to his poem because it is written in the vulgar or popular language, as distinguished from Latin, in which he originally intended to write it. The epithet "divine" was not a part of the title, but was added later by admirers of the poem.

DANTE'S COSMOGONY

Dante's astronomical system bears the name of Ptolemy, a mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, born in Egypt about the end of the first Christian century. Ptolemy, however, was not the author, but only the principal expounder of the system, which was universally accepted until the sixteenth century, when it was superseded by that of Copernicus. Dante's principal geographical authority was Orosius, a Spanish ecclesiastic, born toward the end of the fourth century, and best known by his "Histories against the Pagans in Seven Books" (*Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII.*), the first book of which was mainly geographical, its matter being mostly condensed from Strabo.

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According to the Ptolemaic system, the earth is a stationary sphere, forming the centre of the universe, and the heavenly bodies revolve round it in circular orbits.

The earth is divided into two hemispheres—the northern and the southern, the former of land, the latter of water. Dante retains the primitive belief that the dry land on the surface of the globe is completely surrounded with water; the belief being founded upon Scripture, Gen. I. 9; Ps. XXIV. 1, 2; I. Pet. III. 5.

The dry land is limited to the northern hemisphere. The early belief was that the southern hemisphere was uninhabitable. "This belief," says Dr. Moore, "is curiously illustrated by the fact that in some of the old Egyptian zodiacs or star-maps, the figures representing the southern constellations are said to be depicted in boats." The belief in antipodes was regarded by the Christian Fathers as heretical, on the ground that the tropical ocean, on account of intense heat, was unnavigable; and that therefore any inhabitants of the southern hemisphere could not be descended from Adam.

In longitude, the habitable earth was supposed to occupy 180°, or 10,200 miles; from Gades (a group of islands believed to lie directly in the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) to the river Ganges. In latitude, the dry land was supposed to be included between the Equator and the Arctic circle, the latitude of which is 66⅔°, and consequently to extend over 3,674 miles, only three-fifths of which was habitable by man.

Asia, in which Egypt was included, was as large as Europe and Africa together. The western half of the habitable world was divided into the two nearly equal continents of Europe and Africa by the Mediterranean, which was supposed to cover 90° of longitude. Jerusalem was the centre of the habitable earth both in latitude and longitude. Rome was

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central between Jerusalem and Gades; in other words, it was the centre of the western or Christian world. Hell was directly under Jerusalem: and Purgatory, the antipodes of Jerusalem, was an island in the midst of the waters of the southern hemisphere.

The earth was surrounded by the nine heavens, a series of hollow revolving spheres, one within the other. If a boy's marble were suspended in the centre of a small, hollow glass globe, and this globe were enclosed in another and larger one, and this again in another, and so on up to nine, the marble would represent the earth, and each successive globe one of the heavens. Each of these heavens receives its name from the heavenly body attached to it. The one nearest the earth is the heaven of the Moon, followed in order by the heavens of Mercury, Venus, the Sun (regarded as one of the planets), Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the heaven of the fixed stars, and the crystalline heaven, known as the Primum Mobile, because it generates and controls the revolutions of the other heavens, as it revolves from east to west in twenty-four hours. Above all these is the Empyrean, motionless and boundless, the special abode of God, and the eternal habitation of his saints. According to Dante (Conv. II. 4, 14), the term Empyrean signifies the heaven of flame; "flame," however, being understood spiritually, as holy love.

Beneath the lowest of these heavens, the heaven of the Moon, are four elemental spheres, forming a continuation of the system of the heavens. The sphere of earth is succeeded by that of water, followed by the spheres of air and fire, the last being next below the Moon. The earth is within the spheres of water and air, subject to variations of heat and cold, wind and rain. The division appears on the Mount of Purgatory in the southern hemisphere, where the sphere of air extends as far as the end of Ante-Purgatory at the gate of St. Peter, the entrance to Purgatory proper, at which

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point the sphere of fire begins, and all atmospheric disturbances cease. See Purg. XXVIII. 97–103.

Hell and Purgatory, being situated in the earth, were treated as geographical facts. According to the popular belief, the earthly Eden or Paradise was in the extreme east, probably owing to the mention of the Tigris (Hiddekel) and Euphrates in Gen. II. 14. Dante sees these two rivers in the Earthly Paradise on the summit of the Purgatorial Mount, issuing from one source; an idea which may have been due to the use of the singular number, "a river," in Gen. II. 10. Dante's conception of Purgatory as a mountain crowned by the Earthly Paradise was entirely original.

DANTE'S MORAL UNIVERSE

The Commedia is, before all else, a moral and religious poem. Dante himself characterized it as "sacred" or "consecrated," and says that "simply considered, its subject is The state of the soul after death: but allegorically taken, its subject is man, according as he renders himself liable to the reward or punishment of justice, by his good or ill deserts." The honor of having been the first Christian poet has been claimed, and with some plausibility, for Dante; but however that may be, the deepest significance of the Commedia lies in its being the story of the human soul in its relation to God. It is not only that it originates in Christian sentiment; that the facts of Christian history and the precepts of Christian teaching are employed by way of allusion and illustration;—but that it is Christian in its very fibre. Dealing primarily with the state of the soul after death, it reflects in the various phases of that state the multiform aspects of the life of kings, statesmen, politicians, party-leaders, tyrants, Popes and Cardinals, lords and ladies, soldiers, sages, poets, musicians, money-changers—of the hundreds of characters, in short,

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which figured in the society of the Poet's own age and of former ages. Thus it is a picture of mediæval politics; of statecraft and local intrigue; of the attitude and policy of the Church; of the common life of citizens; of the greed and extortion of Popes; of the quarrels of nobles. It reflects the theology, the art, the literature, the employments and diversions, the ruling ideas, the virtues and the vices of its age. It is the consummate expression of Mediævalism. But underlying all and through all is the story of the soul of man, working out its relation to a divine law and a divine ideal. It is the assertion of the prime significance of personal virtue over against the eudæmonism of Paganism: of the dignity of individual manhood over against the dignity of birth and station: of moral beauty over against mere sensuous beauty. All men, all ages, all conditions are swept within the lines of the Kingdom of God: not only men and women, but even the grotesque mythical monsters of the pagan world, and the imaginary personages of classic drama and poetry. After we have stripped Dante's Christian thought of its mediæval excrescences, there still remain the eternal truths that God is the absolute and rightful sovereign of the universe; that loyalty to him is blessedness, and estrangement from him misery: the truths of faith, love, penitence, pardon, duty and retribution.

God is the centre and mover and administrator of all things.

> "His glory who doth all things move pervades
> The universe."

Even the economy of the physical universe obeys spiritual laws. Theology blends with cosmogony. The influence of the Primum Mobile extends downward through the fixed stars to the different forms of existence in the other spheres. The characters and destinies of men, primarily ordained by God,

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are shaped through the agency of the stars, yet not so as to destroy human responsibility. The Empyrean is without motion because it is the special home of God, whereby the desire implied in motion is satisfied. The velocity of the Primum Mobile is due to intensity of desire to attain the perfect rest of the Empyrean. Earth is the centre of the heavens. The nearer the earth, the smaller the circuit and the slower the rate of revolution; because proximity to the earth implies corresponding remoteness from the heaven of God. Swiftness of motion measures the love and the happiness of glorified spirits.

The administration of human affairs is, again, predominantly moral and spiritual. It is carried on through two agents—the Church and the Empire; but not so as that the one is spiritual and the other temporal. Both are spiritual. The Empire is a spiritual agency no less than the Church. Dante held by the delusion of "the Holy Roman Empire": that the Empire of Augustus and Vespasian and Constantine was still perpetuated in the Hohenstaufen: that the Empire as represented by the German kings was the direct and legitimate successor of the dominion of the Cæsars, and was divinely entitled to the sovereignty of the world, since the Roman Empire was ordained to that end by God. The world was a monarchy, and that monarchy was moral and spiritual. The Church and the Empire were its co-ordinate factors, each keeping strictly within its own function; but both functions were ultimately spiritual. Pope and Emperor were alike God's Vicars. Dante calls the Emperor Henry VII. "the Lord's Anointed," "the exalted offspring of Jesse," and even "the Lamb of God." The city of Rome is the divinely-decreed local centre of Church and Empire alike. Dante says: "A special origin and a special growth, thought out and ordained by God, was that of the Holy City. And certainly I am of the firm opinion that the stones which form her walls

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are worthy of reverence; and the ground on which she stands is worthy beyond all that has been preached and proved by men." In Purg. XXXII. he speaks of "that Rome where Christ is Roman." The German sovereigns are continually being urged to return and fix their seat upon the shore of the Tiber.

This ideal, utterly chimerical and impracticable as it was, was to Dante more than a political theory. It was a religion. In his eyes the Roman people were as truly God's chosen people as the Jews. Roman history was sacred equally with Jewish history. If Moses and Isaiah and Paul were "inspired," so were Vergil and Livy and Lucan. The term "scripture" is applied indiscriminately to the Bible and to Greek and Roman classics; and a quotation or illustration from the Bible is usually supplemented with one from Greek or Roman literature or history.

Accordingly unfaithfulness or treachery to the Empire incurs the divine displeasure. Dante describes it as blasphemy of deed against God who

> "made it holy for His use alone."

To be outside the Church is to be excluded from Heaven. The celestial gate is closed against the heathen, however virtuous or noble, and even against unbaptized infants. One or two peculiar exceptions to this rule will be noted in their place.

THE ALLEGORICAL CHARACTER OF THE COMMEDIA

In reading the Commedia one must be continually on the watch for double, triple, and even quadruple meanings "coiled up" within the text. This enigmatical method was the product of the practice of allegorical interpretation which pre-

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vailed at a very early date. It was applied to the poems of Homer nearly four centuries before Christ, as a means of explaining or reconciling passages which clashed with the religious conceptions of the writer's day. It was developed by Philo in the first Christian century, as a means of reconciling Jewish thought and institutions with Greek culture. It pervaded and shaped the Biblical exegesis of the Christian Fathers of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and was perpetuated by the scholastic theologians, such as Albertus Magnus, Aquinas, and Bonaventura, all of whom were contemporary with Dante, who was a careful student of Scripture, and was familiar with their writings, besides being an enthusiastic admirer of Augustine. It was no wonder that he was imbued with the idea of a fourfold sense in Scripture, and that he conveyed it into his own poem.

He himself explains it in his letter to Can Grande della Scala. He says: "The sense of this work is not simple but manifold. One sense is literal, the other allegorical." He adds also a moral and a mystical sense, but says that these may be included under the allegorical. His illustration is drawn from the second canto of the Purgatory. When the disembodied spirits, ferried over the Southern Ocean, approach the shore of Purgatory, they chant Psalm CXIV.: "When Israel went out of Egypt," etc. Literally, he says, this means the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt: allegorically, our redemption by Christ: morally, the conversion of the soul: mystically, the departure of the holy soul from the bondage of the world to the liberty of heavenly glory. It must be borne in mind, however, that the four senses practically resolve themselves into two, and that, usually, it is sufficient to look for only a literal and an allegorical sense. The latter it is not always easy to identify. This twofold sense answers to a double design pervading the Commedia as a whole. In a literal sense it is Dante's own spiritual

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biography; in another sense it is the spiritual biography of man as man.

DANTE'S HELL

Much ingenuity and labor have been expended in attempts to trace Dante's general conception to particular sources, and to refer this or that passage of the poem to some one of these.

Such efforts count for very little, especially when they go to the length of denying to Dante the credit of originality. If originality consisted only in novelty, no literary production could be called original. Dante's originality is a point which it is superfluous to discuss.

For centuries before Dante men's minds had been busy with speculations upon the state of the dead, and their imagination had produced numerous pictures of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise. Many legendary visions were current in the Middle Ages, such as "The Vision of St. Paul," "The Voyage of St. Brandan," "The Vision of Tundalus," "The Purgatory of St. Patrick," "The Vision of Fra Alberico," and "The Vision of Wettin." That many of these were known to Dante is probable; but their material was held in solution in popular mediæval thought. That Dante's conception grew out of this popular thought goes without saying. The conception of a journey through the realm of the dead was as old as Homer if not older; and formed a prominent feature in the Æneid of Vergil, who was Dante's favorite poet and acknowledged literary master. It is not difficult to discover resemblances to the Commedia in Vergil and in these crude legends; but Dante's originality is in nowise impugned by these resemblances. As D'Ancona remarks: "The subject belonged to everybody and nobody. Dante, in appropriating it, put into it what his predecessors had been unable to put—what he

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alone possessed. Many had already tried to describe the pains of Hell and the joys of Heaven; and it did not require a large stock of imagination to accumulate, in the description of the former, torments, writhings, fire, ice, pitch, brimstone, serpents, monsters, demons; and in that of the latter, delights and joys, lights, perfumes, songs and sounds; but no one had thought of taking up that old, hackneyed theme, and making it represent human life in all its forms and vicissitudes, from the abyss of woe to the summit of felicity."

In the inscription over the gate of Hell with which the third canto of the Inferno opens, we read:

> "Before me there were no created things,
> Save things eternal."

This means that Hell was created at the time of the fall of the rebellious angels from Heaven, and when the only existing things were the "eternal things"—the angels and the celestial spheres. Vergil's account of the origin of Hell in Inf. XXXIV. is not consistent with this, since it assumes that the earth was created before the fall of Lucifer. This account is that Lucifer, when hurled from Heaven, struck the earth on the southern hemisphere, which at that time consisted of land, and tore through it to the centre of the globe. The land of the southern hemisphere retreated from him in terror, and withdrew to the northern hemisphere; and the sea came up and covered the space which it left. Then, when Lucifer was fixed at the centre, the earth fled away in both directions; northward, forming the pit of Hell, and southward, heaving up the mount of Purgatory amid the southern waters, leaving behind it a narrow passage from the centre of the earth to the base of the Purgatorial Mount.

The general outline of the infernal pit is that of an inverted cone or a funnel, the interior circumference of which is divided

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into nine concentric "circles," subdivided, in some cases, into minor circles or "rounds."

The nine circles are approached through a zone compassing the outermost border of the pit, which is not included in the enumeration of the circles, but which forms a kind of vestibule, where dwell the souls of those angels who were neither loyal to God nor openly rebellious; and of men who did neither positive good nor positive evil; neutrals, whom Heaven and Hell alike reject.

The first circle is known as Limbo, where are placed unbaptized infants, and virtuous men and women of pre-Christian times. Their only punishment is to live in eternal longing without hope.

The torments begin with the second circle. The punishments increase in severity with the descent. The classification of sins is expounded by Vergil in Inf. XI., on which see notes.

The nine circles fall into two great sections, the uppermost devoted to sins of incontinence, the other to sins of malice. The Incontinent occupy four circles, beginning with the second. The sixth circle is included within the wall of the City of Dis. This forms the division between the two great sections, or between upper and lower Hell. This is the circle of the Heretics, or, more strictly, the followers of the atheistic Epicurus.

From the sixth circle a steep descent leads to the second section, which extends to the bottom of the pit and is divided between sins of violence and sins of fraud. The Violent occupy the seventh circle, which contains three rounds, in which, respectively, are punished the violent against their neighbors, against themselves (suicides), and against God.

The eighth circle, known as Malebolge or Evil-pits, is reached by a deep, cylindrical shaft, from the foot of which proceeds a series of ten trenches, arranged on a downward

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slope like the rows of an amphitheatre. These trenches, in each of which is punished some form of fraud, are separated by embankments, which are crossed by rough bridges of rock springing from the wall which encompasses Malebolge, and traversing the entire series of trenches, converging toward a deep well at the bottom of the slope, like the spokes of a wheel to the hub.

At the bottom of this well the ninth circle is reached, where treachery, the worst form of fraud, is punished. This is a region of eternal ice, and is divided into four rounds, the lowest of which surrounds the apex of the infernal cone, where Lucifer is eternally fixed.

Hell is traversed by a stream which appears at different points under four different names: Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon, and Cocytus. Acheron is crossed in passing from the vestibule of the Neutrals to the first circle. In the fourth circle the stream forms the filthy lagoon of Styx, across which passage is made to the city of Dis. At the entrance to the third round of the seventh circle, it appears as Phlegethon, a river of blood; and finally in the ninth circle, forming the frozen lake of Cocytus.

Each of the nine circles is presided over by a demon or monster, or several of them, all of whom are mythological creations of the ancient world. There are Charon, Minos, Cerberus, Plutus, Phlegyas, the Furies, the Minotaur, Geryon, and the giants which surround the lowest well,—Nimrod, Briareus, Ephialtes, Typhoeus and Antaeus.

Hell is a state of final, endless, hopeless suffering. The punishment of sin is both spiritual and corporeal. The damned suffer the pangs of regret, of longing for the world which they have left, of unsatisfied vengeance upon those who have wronged them, of hatred of each other, and of impotent rage against God. They have bodies which cast no shadow, but which display frightful mutilations. They suffer from

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heat and cold; they are torn by thorns, pursued and rent by hell-hounds, transformed into serpents, and tortured with itching sores. Dante's representations concerning their bodily investiture are, however, scarcely consistent. When he would embrace Casella in Purgatory, his arms clasp vacancy; but in the lowest Hell he seizes Bocca by the hair, and tears it out by handfuls. The subject of these bodies was much discussed by the scholastic theologians. Vergil in Purg. III. declares it to be a mystery which God has not chosen to reveal. Statius, in Purg. XXV., attempts a metaphysical explanation, which, as might be expected, is vague and unsatisfactory.

BIOGRAPHICAL

Dante's personality is so wrought into the fibre of the Commedia, that some knowledge of his biography is indispensable to an intelligent reading of the poem.

The scanty materials for his personal history are derived from four sources: his own works; contemporary documents relating to himself and his family; the ancient commentators; the ancient biographies.

The commentators are, of course, unavailable to those unacquainted with Italian, with the exception of Benvenuto da Imola, the first public lecturer on Dante at Bologna, in 1375. The substance of his lectures is given in the six volumes of "Readings" by the Hon. William Warren Vernon. The contemporary documents are richer in the illustration of the general political and social relations of Dante's time than in personal details. The matter derived from these sources is scattered through numerous magazines and monographs. Much of it, originally published in the "Bulletino" of the Italian Dante Society, has been reprinted in the "Transactions of the American Dante Society."

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All of Dante's own writings are accessible in English translations, as follows:

"Lyric Poems," by Charles Lyell, London, 1835; D. G. Rossetti, Lond., 1861; E. H. Plumptre, in the second volume of his Translation of the Commedia, Lond. and Boston, 1886–88. There are numerous versions of single Sonnets by different authors, as Percy Bysshe Shelley, H. F. Cary, J. R. Lowell, T. W. Parsons, C. E. Norton, Katharine Hillard. Many may be found in S. Waddington's "Sonnets of Europe," 1886.

"Vita Nuova," by Sir Theodore Martin, Lond., 1862; D. G. Rossetti, Lond., 1874, and included in his collected works, Lond., 1890; Charles Eliot Norton, Boston, 1867; C. S. Boswell, Lond., 1895.

"De Vulgari Eloquentia," by A. G. F. Howell, Lond., 1890.

"Convivio," by Charles Lyell, Lond., 1842; Elizabeth P. Sayer, Lond., 1887; Katharine Hillard, Lond., 1889.

"De Monarchia," by F. J. Church, Lond., 1879; Aurelia Henry, Boston, 1904.

"Letters," by Charles Latham, Boston, 1891. "Epistle to Can Grande," by Katharine Hillard, in her version of the "Convivio."

Of the old biographers the earliest and most important is Giovanni Villani, in his "Florentine Chronicles," B. IV., Ch. 136. He furnishes a mere outline of Dante's life, with a brief estimate of his character and writings. An English version is given in "Selections from the Croniche Fiorentine of Villani," Rose E. Selfe, ed. by P. H. Wicksteed, Westminster, 1897.

The biographies by Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni are translated in "A Provisional Translation of the Early Lives of Dante," by P. H. Wicksteed, 1898.

A valuable critical résumé of the five earlier Biographies of Dante is given in Dr. Edward Moore's "Dante and his Early Biographers," Lond., 1890.

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The more elaborate biographies are mostly in German. Such are those of L. G. Blanc, Franz Xaver Wegele, G. A. Scartazzini, Franz Xaver Kraus. A very full and careful biography is prefixed to Dean Plumptre's translation of the Commedia.

Valuable biographical matter will be found in the following: "Companion to Dante," translated from G. A. Scartazzini by Arthur J. Butler, Lond., 1893. This is substantially the same as the "Dante Handbook," by G. A. Scartazzini and Thomas Davidson, Boston, 1887. "Dante, his Times and Work," by Arthur J. Butler, Lond., 1895 (for beginners). "Life of Dante Alighieri," by Paget Toynbee, Lond., 1900.

A convenient outline is given by Edmund G. Gardner in "Dante," one of the series of "Temple Primers."

Every student should be familiar with the admirable essay on Dante by James Russell Lowell, in the second series of "Among my Books," Boston, 1876, and with that of Dean R. W. Church, in "Dante and Other Essays," Lond. and N. Y., 1901.

Histories of Florence are those of Henry Edward Napier, Lond., 1846–47; F. A. Hyett, 1903; Dr. Robert Davidsohn (German), Berlin, 1896—.

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INFERNO

CANTO I

Dante, lost and bewildered, finds himself in a dark and savage forest. Escaping from this, he makes his way to the foot of a hill which he endeavors to ascend. He is met by three beasts, a panther, a lion, and a she-wolf, which drive him back to the foot of the ascent. Here he meets the shade of Vergil, to whom he appeals for aid. Vergil proposes to deliver him by conducting him through Hell and Purgatory, and afterward committing him to the charge of Beatrice, who will be his guide through Heaven. Dante departs in his company.

Midway upon the journey of our life,
I found myself within a forest dark,
For the right road was lost. Ah! what it was—
That savage wood, bristling and obstinate,
Which in the very thought renews the fear,—
How hard a thing it is to tell! so great
The bitterness, that death is little more.
But to discourse about the good I found
Therein, I will recount the other things
Which there I marked. How first I entered there
I cannot well relate, I was so full
Of drowsiness, that moment when I left
The path of truth: but when I to the foot
Had come of an ascent, where to an end
That valley came which had my heart harassed
With fear, I upward looked, and mantled now
Beheld its shoulders with that planet's rays
Which rightly guides men upon every path.
My fear was then a little pacified,

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Which, through the night passed in such piteous wise,
In my heart's lake had lingered; and as he
Who from the deep comes panting forth to shore,
And turns him to the dangerous sea, and stares,
E'en so my mind, still speeding onward, turned
Again, to view the pass which never one
Did living leave. When I a little rest
Had given to my wearied frame, again
Along the solitary slope I took
My way, in such wise that the firmer foot
Ever the lower was; and lo! wellnigh
At the beginning of the steep, a pard,
Nimble and very swift, all covered o'er
With spotted hair; and from before my face
She did not move; nay, so she blocked my way,
That often to go back I turned me round.
The time was break of morning, and the sun
Was mounting upward, with those stars that were
With him, when Love divine set moving first
Those beauteous things; so that the hour of day,
And the sweet time of year awoke in me
Good hope of that wild beast with dappled skin.
Yet not so much that did not cause me fear
The aspect of a lion which met my eyes.
Coming against me he appeared to be,
With head erect and hunger ravenous,
So that the air appeared afraid of him:
And a she-wolf that, in her meagreness,
Seemed with all cravings laden, and has made
Wretched already many people's lives.
So much distress that beast afforded me
With the dismay that from her aspect came,
That hope of scaling the ascent I lost.
And such as he who gladly gathers gain,

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And when the time arrives which makes him lose,
Weeps, and in all his thoughts is sorrowful,
Such made of me that beast implacable,
Which, right against me coming, pushed me back,
Little by little, where the sun is mute.
While I was in the valley blundering,
Before my eyes one showed himself, who seemed
Faint from long silence. When I saw him there
In the great desert, "Pity me!" I cried,
"Whate'er thou be, or shade, or real man."
"Not man," he answered me; "I once was man,
And Lombards were my parents, and of both
The native place was Mantua. Though late,
Sub Julio I was born, and lived at Rome
Under the good Augustus, in the time
Of the false, lying deities. I was
A poet, and Anchises' upright son
I sang, who after Ilium proud was laid
In ashes, came from Troy. But thou, why back
To such vexation art thou going? Why
Dost not thou climb the Mountain of Delight,
Which is the source and cause of every joy?"
"Art thou that Vergil then, that fount which pours
So copious a stream of speech abroad?"
With brow abashed I answered him. "O thou,
The light and honor of the other bards,
May the long study and the ardent love
Avail me, which have made me search thy book.
Thou art my master and my model thou.
From thee alone that graceful style I took,
The which has done me honor. See that beast
Because of which I turned! O sage renowned,
Save me from her; for she with tremor fills
My veins and pulses." When he saw me weep,

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He said: "Thou needs must go another road,
If thou wouldst from this savage place escape:
Because this beast at which thou criest out,
Allows not men to pass her way, but so
Impedes them, that she kills them; and she has
A nature so malign and bad, that ne'er
Her ravening greed is sated; and when fed,
She is more hungry than before. She weds
With many an animal, and will with more,
Until shall come the Greyhound, who with pain
Will make her die. Not land or pelf shall be
His fare, but wisdom, valor, love. Between
Feltro and Feltro shall his nation be.
Of that low-lying Italy he will
Be the salvation, for the sake of which
Camilla, virgin, died, and of their wounds
Turnus, and Nisus, and Euryalus.
Through every town he will give chase to her,
Till he have put her into Hell again,
Whence Envy at the first did set her loose.
I therefore, for thy profit, think and judge
That thou shouldst follow me, and I will be
Thy guide, and hence through an eternal place
Conduct thee, where thou the despairing shrieks
Shalt hear, and in their misery shalt see
The ancient spirits, each of whom cries out
Upon the second death. And thou shalt see
Those who are in the fire content, because,
Whene'er the time may be, they hope to come
To where the blessed are: to whom if thou
Wouldst afterward ascend, for that shall be
A spirit worthier than I assigned;
And I with her will leave thee when I part.
For since I was rebellious to his law,

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That Emperor who there above bears rule
Decrees that with my escort none shall come
Into his city. He in every place
Governs, and there he reigns: his city there,
There his exalted seat: O happy he
Whom he elects thereto!" And I to him:
"O Poet, by that God thou didst not know,
In order that I may escape this ill,
And worse, I pray thee lead me to that place
Which thou just now didst mention; so that I
May see Saint Peter's gate, and those whom thou
Describest as so sad." Then he moved on,
And following after him I held my way.

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CANTO II

Dante prepares for his journey. The Muses are invoked. Dante is haunted with misgivings. Vergil rebukes his cowardice, and relates how Beatrice visited him in Limbo, and sent him to Dante's aid. Dante declares himself encouraged and ready to set out.

Day was departing, and the dusky air
Releasing from their toils the animals
Which are on earth; and I, all, all alone,
Prepared myself to undergo the stress
Both of the journey and the suffering,
Which memory that errs not shall portray.
Now Muses, aid me! Lofty genius, aid!
O Memory, who hast written what I saw,
Here shall thy nobleness be manifest.
I thus began: "Poet, who guidest me,
Consider well my power if it suffice,
Ere thou commit me to the arduous road.
Thou sayest Silvius' father, mortal still,
Went to the world immortal, and was there
Bodily-wise. If gracious then to him
The Adversary of all evil was,—
Considering the great result, from him
Destined to issue, and the who and what,—
This, to a man of understanding, seems
Not unbefitting; for of sacred Rome
And of her empire, he, in highest Heaven,
Was chosen to be father; both of which,
To say the truth, were for the holy place
Decreed, where he who the successor is
Of greater Peter, sits. Things which the cause

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Were of his triumph and the papal robe,
He learned upon that journey, for the which
Thou dost extol him. Thither, afterward,
The 'chosen vessel' went, to bring back thence
A confirmation to that faith wherein
Salvation's way begins. But as to me,
Why go I thither, or who suffers it?
Aeneas I am not, nor am I Paul:
Worthy of this nor I nor others deem me.
And therefore, if I yield myself to go,
I fear my going may be folly. Thou
Art wise, and knowest better than I speak."
And as he is who what he willed unwills,
And changes his design on second thought,
So that he wholly quits what he began,—
Such I became upon that hillside dim,
Because, in thinking, I forsook the emprise,
Which was begun so hastily. "If I
Have rightly understood thy words," replied
That shade of the high-minded one, "thy soul
By cowardice is staggered, which, ofttimes,
Cumbers a man so that it turns him back
From noble enterprise, as, when it shies,
False-seeing does a beast. That from this fear
Thou mayst be freed, I'll tell thee why I came,
And what I heard at the first moment when
Sorrow I felt for thee. I was with those
Who are suspended between joy and woe;
And me a lady called, so blest and fair,
That her commands I begged to know. Her eyes
Shone brighter than the star; and she began,
With voice angelic in her speech, to say,
Softly and low, to me: 'O Mantuan soul,
Courteous, whose fame still in the world survives,

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And will endure so long as motion lasts,—
My friend, not Fortune's friend, is, on his way
Upon the desert slope, so hindered, that
For fright he has turned back; and I do fear,
From what I have in Heaven heard of him,
That he already is so far astray,
That I have risen too late to succor him.
Now do thou move; and with thine ornate speech,
And with whate'er for his deliverance
Is needful, aid him so, that I may be
Consoled thereby. I who am sending thee
Am Beatrice. From a place I am come
Whither I would return. Love prompted me,
Which makes me speak. Ofttimes, when I shall be
Before my Lord, I will commend thee to him.'
Then she was silent, and I straight began:
'Lady of virtue, thou through whom alone
The human race surpasses all contained
Within that heaven which has the smallest orb,
So grateful to me thy commandment is,
That my obedience, even though it were
Already rendered, would be slow to me.
For thee to open further thy desire
To me, there is no need. But tell me what
The cause is that thou dost not hesitate
Down hither to this centre to descend,
From the vast region whither to return
Thou burnest.' 'Since a knowledge so profound
Thou dost desire,' she answered, 'I will tell,
Briefly, to thee why I am not afraid
To enter here. Those things alone which have
The power to injure people should be feared:
And not the rest, for dreadful they are not.
Such, in his goodness, I am made by God,

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That me your misery does not affect,
Nor of this burning does the flame assail.
In Heaven is a noble dame, who grieves
So sorely for this hindrance whereunto
I send thee, that, up yonder, judgment stern
She breaks. To Lucia she betook herself
In her petition, saying: 'Now of thee
Thy faithful one has need, and to thy charge
I do commit him.' Lucia, enemy
Of every cruel thing, bestirred herself,
And to the place repaired where I was sitting
With ancient Rachel, and she said to me:
'Beatrice, God's true praise, why dost thou not
Fly to the help of him who loved thee so,
That he for thee forsook the vulgar throng?
Hearest thou not how piteous is his plaint?
Dost thou not see the death that battle joins
With him, upon the stream o'er which the sea
No vantage has?' On earth were never folk
So swift to make their gain or flee their hurt,
As I to come, after these words were said,
Down hither from my blessed seat, my trust
Reposing in thy sterling speech, which does
Honor to thee and to thy listeners.'
This said, she turned away her sparkling eyes,
Weeping, whereby she made me hasten more
To come; and thus, as she desired, I came
To thee. I took thee from before that beast
That stopped thy going to the mountain fair
By the short road. What is it then? Why, why
Dost thou delay? Why dost thou in thy heart
Such cowardice invite? Why hast thou not
Daring and bold assurance, when for thee
In Heaven's court are three such blessed dames

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Concerned, and so much benefit to thee
My speech engages?" As the flowrets, bowed
And closed by chill of night, erect themselves
All open on their stems, when whitens them
The sun,—thus I revived my flagging power,
And such good courage flowed into my heart,
That like to one emboldened I began:
"O she compassionate that succored me,
And courteous thou who promptly didst obey
The truthful words which she addressed to thee,
Thou hast disposed my heart with such desire
To go, by what thou sayest, that I have
Returned to my first purpose. Forward now,
For one sole will is in us both. Thou art
The Leader, thou the Lord, the Master thou."
Thus I to him; and when he had moved on,
I entered by the steep and savage way.

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CANTO III

Dante reads the inscription over the gate of Hell. He is troubled by the words, but is comforted by Vergil. They enter the gate. Vergil describes the character and punishment of the neutral spirits. They see a banner running swiftly round the circle followed by a train of spirits. The shade of Pope Celestine V. Acheron and Charon. Charon warns Dante away, but is quieted by Vergil. The spirits on the bank enter Charon's boat. An earthquake-shock and a great wind are felt, and Dante falls senseless.

THROUGH ME THE WAY IS TO THE CITY SAD,
THROUGH ME THE WAY IS TO ETERNAL WOE,
THROUGH ME THE WAY AMONG THE PEOPLE LOST.
JUSTICE DID MY EXALTED MAKER MOVE;
OMNIPOTENCE DIVINE CREATED ME,
WISDOM SUPREME, AND LOVE ORIGINAL.
BEFORE ME THERE WERE NO CREATED THINGS,
SAVE THINGS ETERNAL, AND I LAST FOREVER:
ALL HOPE ABANDON YE WHO ENTER HERE!

These words, in color dark, above a gate
I saw inscribed; and thereupon I said:
"Master, they bear a grievous sense to me."
And he to me, as one expert, replied:
"Here all suspicion must be left behind:
All cowardice must be extinguished here:
We to the place are come where I have told thee
That thou shouldst see the people woe-begone,
Who have the good of understanding lost."
And after he had laid his hand on mine,
With cheerful countenance, which heartened me,
Within he brought me, to the secret things.

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Here through the starless air resounded sighs,
Laments, and wailings shrill, whence I, at first,
Began to weep. Strange languages, and tongues
Horrible, words of anguish, tones of wrath,
And voices loud and faint, and sound of hands
With these, a tumult made which, endlessly,
Is swirling in that air of timeless gloom,
Like sand which eddies at the whirlwind's blast.
And I, my head begirt with horror, said:
"Master, what is it that I hear, and who
Are they that seem so overcome with pain?"
And he to me: "The wretched souls of those
Whose lives devoid of infamy and praise
Were spent, maintain this miserable way.
They are commingled with that evil band
Of angels, who nor rebels were, nor true
To God, but who were by themselves. The Heavens
Expelled them, not to be less beautiful;
And the deep Hell receives them not, because
The damned would have somewhat to boast of them."
And I: "My Master, what distress so sore
Is theirs, that makes them mourn so bitterly?"
"Full briefly," he replied, "I'll tell it thee.
No hope of death have these, and their blind life
Is so debased, that they are envious
Of every other lot. Repute of them
The world allows not to exist. Alike
Mercy and Justice spurn them. Let us not
Talk about them, but look, and pass them by."
And I who looked, a banner saw, which ran,
Whirling, so swiftly that it seemed to spurn
All pause; and after it so long a train
Of people came, that I would ne'er have deemed
That death so many had undone. When some

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I there had recognized, I saw and knew
The shade of him who made, through cowardice,
The great refusal. I perceived forthwith
And was assured that this the company
Was of the caitiffs, hateful both to God,
And to his enemies. These wretches, who
Ne'er were alive, were naked, and were much
By gadflies goaded, and by wasps, which had
Their dwelling there. Their faces these bedewed
With blood, which, mixed with tears, was at their feet
Gathered by loathsome worms. And when I turned
My gaze beyond, a crowd upon the bank
Of a great stream I saw; whereat I said:
"Now Master grant to me that I may know
Who these are, and what usage makes them seem
So ready to pass over, as I see
By the dim light." And he to me: "These things
Will be made known to thee, when we shall stay
Our steps on the sad shore of Acheron."
Then with abashed and downcast eyes, for fear
My talking had been wearisome to him,
As far as to the river I refrained
From speaking. And behold, an old man, white
With locks of age, toward us, in a boat
Coming, and crying: "Woe to you, bad souls!
Hope never to see Heaven! I come to bring
You to the other shore, into the gloom
Eternal, into heat and into frost.
And thou, thou living soul there, from those dead
Begone!" But seeing that I did not go,
He said: "By other way, by other ports,
Thou to the shore shalt come; to pass, not here.
A lighter boat must bear thee." And to him
My Guide: "Charon, vex not thyself: it is

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So willed, there where is power to perform
That which is willed: and further question not."
After these words, quiet the fleecy chaps
Were, of the pilot of the livid marsh,
Who round about his eyes had wheels of flame.
But those tired, naked souls their color changed,
And gnashed their teeth, soon as the cruel words
They heard. God and their parents they blasphemed;
The human kind, the place, the time, the seed
Of their engendering and of their birth.
Then, weeping bitterly, they all repaired
Together to the shore accurst, which waits
Each man that fears not God. Charon the fiend,
With fiery eyes, beckoning, collects them all,
Beats with his oar each one who tries to sit.
As, one the other following, the leaves
Detach themselves in Autumn, till the branch
Sees all its spoils upon the ground,—just so
The evil seed of Adam, one by one,
Cast themselves at his signals from that shore,
Like bird at its recall: so on their way
O'er the dark wave they go, and ere they land
Upon the farther side, on this side is
Assembled a fresh company. "My son,"
The courteous Master said: "All those who die
Under the wrath of God, from every land,
Assemble here, and eager are to cross
The stream, because God's justice spurs them so,
That fear is changed to longing. A good soul
Doth never pass this way. If then Charon
Complain of thee, thou now canst understand
Full well the import of his words." This said,
The gloomy plain so violently shook,
That even now the memory of my fright

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Bathes me with sweat. The tearful land gave forth
A wind that flashed a crimson light, which all
My senses overpowered, and like a man
Whom slumber seizes suddenly, I fell.

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CANTO IV

Dante is awakened from his swoon by a heavy thunder-peal. He finds himself on the brink of the first circle. Limbo. A bright light is seen in the distance, and as Dante and Vergil approach it they are met by four great poets who salute Vergil. They welcome Dante as one of their number. They all arrive at a great castle, within which is a green meadow, where are seen numerous spirits of famous persons. The company separates, and Vergil leads Dante to the second circle.

A heavy thunder broke the slumber deep
Within my head, so that I roused myself,
Like to a person who by force is waked:
And, risen upright, my rested eye I moved
Around me, and intently gazed to know
The place in which I was. Upon the brink,
In sooth, I found me of the woful vale
Of the abyss, which thunder gathers up
Of endless wails. So dark and deep it was,
So full of cloud, that though I fixed my gaze
Upon the depth, I nothing there descried.
"Now here below into the world obscure
Let us descend:" began the Bard, all pale.
"I will be first, and thou shalt second be."
And I, who had remarked his color, said:
"How shall I come if thou art fearful—thou
Who comfort in my doubt art wont to be?"
And he to me: "The anguish of the folk
Who are down here, depicts upon my face
The pity which thou dost mistake for fear.
Let us go on: the long way calls for haste."
And into the first circle which engirds
The gulf, he thus did put himself, and thus

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He made me enter. Here there was no plaint,
So far as one could hear, except of sighs
Which made the air eternal shake; and this
Arose from sorrow without torment, which
Suffered the crowds so numerous and great,
Of women, babes, and men. The master good
To me: "Dost not thou ask what souls are these
Whom thou beholdest? I would have thee know,
Now, ere thou goest on, these did not sin:
And though they have deserts, 'tis not enough,
Because they had not baptism, which is part
Of that faith which thou holdest; and if they
Were before Christianity, to God
They rendered not due worship; and of these
Am I myself: we for defects like these,
Are lost, and not for other guiltiness;
And only harmed so far that without hope,
We live in longing." Hearing this, great grief
Laid hold upon my heart, because I knew
Most worthy folk who in that Limbo were
Suspended. "Say to me, O Master mine,
Sir, tell me," I began, moved by desire
To be assured respecting that belief
Which every doubt subdues,—"Did ever one,
By his own merit or another's, go
Forth from this place, who afterward was blest?"
And he, who did my covert speech detect,
Replied: "I was a novice in this state,
When hither I saw come a mighty one,
With sign of triumph crowned. Hence he drew forth
The shade of our first parent, of his son,
Abel, and that of Noah; of Moses too,
The legislator, and obedient;
Abraham, patriarch, and David, king;

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And Israel, with his father and his sons,
Along with Rachel, for whose sake he did
So much; and many more, and made them blest.
And I would have thee know that, before these,
No human souls were saved." We, for his talk,
Did not cease going on, but all the while,
The wood were traversing, the wood, I mean,
Of crowded spirits. Far we had not gone,
As yet, from where I slumbered, when I saw
A fire, which overcame a hemisphere
Of darkness. We were still a little way
From this, but not so far that I did not
Partly discern what honorable folk
Possessed that place. "O thou who dost adorn
Each art and science, who are these who have
Such mark of honor, that it separates
Them from the fashion of the rest?" And he:
"Their honorable fame, which, in thy life
Above, is heard, in Heaven favor wins
For them, which thus advances them." Meanwhile,
A voice was heard by me: "All honor be
To the illustrious Poet. Back to us
His shade is come which had departed." When
The voice had ceased and quiet was, I saw
Four grand shades coming to us, in their mien
Nor sorrowful nor glad. The kindly Master
Began to say: "Him with that sword in hand
Behold, who as a lord precedes the three.
That one is Homer, prince of bards: the next
That comes, is Horace, moralist: the third
Is Ovid, and the last is Lucan. Since
Each shares with me the name that single voice
Proclaimed, they do me honor, and therein
Do well." Thus, of those lords of loftiest song

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Which, like an eagle, soars above the rest,
The goodly school I saw assembled. They,
After they had together talked awhile,
With gesture of salute toward me turned;
And at so much respect my Master smiled.
And much more honor still they paid to me;
For of their band they made me, so that I
'Mid so much wisdom was the sixth. We thus
Far as the light went on, with talk of things
Whereof is silence seemly, as was speech
There where I was. We at the foot arrived
Of a grand castle, circled seven times
With lofty walls, and by a streamlet fair
Defended round about. O'er this we passed,
As over solid ground. Through seven gates
I entered with those sages. To a mead
Of verdure fresh we came. Upon it were
People with eyes deliberate and grave,
And in their looks of great authority.
They spake but seldom, and with voices soft.
We therefore on one side withdrew ourselves
Into a place that open was, and light,
And lofty, so that they could all be seen.
There, opposite, on the enamel green,
Were shown me the great souls, whom having seen,
I in myself exult thereat. I saw
Electra, with companions numerous,
And among them I Hector recognized,
Æneas too, and Cæsar, falcon-eyed,
In arms: Camilla and Penthesilea
I saw; and on the other side, the king
Latinus, who did with his daughter sit,
Lavinia; Brutus, Tarquin's banisher;
Lucretia, Julia, Marcia, and Cornelia:

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And Saladin, alone, aside, I saw.
When I had raised my eyes a little higher,
The master I beheld of those who know,
Amid a philosophic household sit.
All gaze at him: all pay him honor: here
I Socrates and Plato saw, who are
In front of all the rest, and nearest him:
Democritus, who lays the world to chance,
And Anaxagoras, Diogenes,
Thales, and Zeno, and Empedocles,
And Heraclitus: Dioscorides,
Good gatherer of qualities, I saw;
And Orpheus, Tully, moral Seneca,
And Linus; Euclid the geometer,
And Galen, Ptolemy, Hippocrates,
And Avicenna, and Averroes
Who the great Comment made: of all in full
I cannot give account; for the long theme
So drives me on, that, often, of the fact
The words come short. To two diminishes
The group of six; and me the guide discreet
Forth from the calm leads, by another road,
Into the air that trembles; and I come
Into a place where nought illuminates.

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CANTO V

The entrance to the second circle. Minos. He warns Dante against entering. The two poets come to a place utterly dark, and resounding with the roar of a hurricane which drives the spirits before it. Vergil tells Dante that these are the spirits of the luxurious and licentious, and points out several of them by name. Francesca da Rimini and her lover. Francesca tells her story, and Dante, overcome with pity, falls senseless.

From the first circle thus did I descend
Into the second, which less space engirds,
But suffering so much greater, that it goads
To wailing. Minos there, in fearful wise,
Stands with a snarl, and at the entrance tries
Transgressions, judgment gives, and downward sends
According as he girds himself. I mean,
That when into his presence comes the soul
To evil born, it full confession makes;
And that discerner of transgressions sees
What is its place in Hell, and with his tail,
As many times as the degrees he wills
That downward it be sent, engirds himself.
Always before him many of them are:
Each in its turn to judgment goes: they speak,
And hear, and then below are hurled. "O thou
That comest to the doleful inn," to me
Said Minos when he saw me, the discharge
Of so grave office leaving,—"take good care
How here thou enterest, and in whom thy trust
Thou puttest. Let the entry's amplitude
Deceive thee not." To him my Guide replied:
"Why art thou also clamoring? Do not

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Hinder his destined journey. So 'tis willed
Where what is willed there is the power to do:
And ask no more." Now do the notes of woe
Begin to force themselves upon my ear.
Now I am come where lamentation great
Smites me. A place I reached, of every light
Deprived, which bellows as the ocean does
In tempest, when assailed by warring winds.
The infernal hurricane which never rests,
Carries along the spirits in its sweep,
And with its whirl and scourge harasses them.
There are, when they before its rush arrive,
Shrieks, plaining, lamentation; there they curse
The power divine. I understood that doomed
To torment such the carnal sinners are,
Who reason to the appetite subject.
And as their wings the starlings bear along,
In the cold season, in a broad, dense flock,—
So does that blast those evil spirits bear.
It sways them to and fro, and up and down,
Forevermore unsoothed by hope of rest,
Or milder penalty: and as the cranes
Go trumpeting their plaintive cry, in air
Making a long line of themselves, so I
Beheld, with long-drawn wails advancing, shades
Swept on by that same tempest; whereupon
I said: "My Master, who are yonder folk
Whom the black air thus lashes?" Then to me
He said: "The first of those of whom thou wouldst
Hear tidings, Empress was of many tongues.
To vice of luxury abandoned so
She was, that in her statute lust she made
Legitimate, to take away the shame
She had incurred. She is Semiramis,

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Of whom we read that she to Ninus was
Successor, and his wife. She held the land
O'er which the Sultan rules. The next is she
Who, all enamored, slew herself, and faith
Broke with the ashes of Sichæus. Then,
Comes wanton Cleopatra. Helen see,
For whom so long a time of guilt revolved:
And see the great Achilles who, with love
Allied, contended to the last: behold
Paris, Tristan!" and shades to me he showed
More than a thousand, and their names to me
He, pointing with his finger, told, whom love
Had from our life divorced. When I had heard
My Teacher name the dames of olden time,
And cavaliers, compassion came on me,
And as if dazed I was. And I began:
"Poet, I gladly with those two would speak,
Who go together, and upon the wind
Appear to be so light." And he to me:
"Observe when they shall nearer to us be;
And then do thou entreat them, by that love
Which bears them on, and they will come to thee."
Soon as the wind toward us swings them round,
I raise my voice: "O weary spirits, come
And talk with us; unless denies you this
Another." As, with pinions poised and set,
Doves to the sweet nest come, by longing called,
By their own will borne on athwart the air,—
Thus from the band where Dido is, they came,
Advancing toward us through the noisome air;
Such was the power my loving summons had.
"O living creature, gracious and benign,
Who threadest the black air to visit us
Who stained the world blood-red, if were our friend

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The Sovereign of the universe, we would
Entreat him for thy peace, because thou hast
Compassion for our fearful misery.
Of that whereof it pleases thee to hear
And speak, we will both hear you, and will speak
To you, while quiet keeps for us, as now,
The wind. Upon the seashore sits the town
Where I was born; where Po descends to rest,
With his attendant streams. Love, who so swift
Is to lay hold upon the noble heart,
Seized upon this one for the person fair
Of which I was bereft; and still the mode
A mischief is to me. Love, who absolves
No one beloved from loving, with desire
Of pleasing him, so strongly seized on me,
That, as thou seest, it still forsakes me not.
Love brought us to one death. Caina waits
For him who quenched our life." These words from them
Were borne to us. As soon as I had heard
Those stricken souls, my face I bowed, and down
I held it, till the Poet said to me:
"What art thou thinking of?" When I replied,
I thus began: "Alas, how many were
The musings sweet: how great the longing was,
Which brought these souls to such a woful pass!"
Then back to them I turned me, and began
To speak: "Francesca, me thy sufferings make,
Even to tears, compassionate and sad.
But tell me—at the time of the sweet sighs,
At what, and how Love granted thee to know
Thy longings unconfessed?" And she to me:
"There is no greater pain than to recall,
In misery, the time of happiness:
And this thy Teacher knows. But if thou hast

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So much desire our love's first root to know,
I will, as one who mingles tears and words,
The story tell. For pastime, we, one day,
Were reading about Launcelot, how Love
Enthralled him. All alone we were, and nought
Suspecting. Oft our eyes that reading urged
To meet, and drove the color from each face.
But that which overcame us was one place
Alone. When, how the smile that woke desire
Was kissed by lover such as he, we read,
This one who never shall be parted from me,
All trembling, kissed my mouth. Galeotto was
The book, and he that wrote it. We, that day,
No further read therein." While the one soul
Spoke thus, the other one was wailing so,
That I, for pity, as if dying, swooned;
And down I fell, as a dead body falls.

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CANTO VI

Dante awakes in the third circle, and finds the Gluttons, who are exposed to a furious rain, and are tormented by Cerberus, who menaces the poets, but is quieted by Vergil. Dante is accosted by Ciacco, and learns the future fortunes of the Whites and Blacks in Florence. He is also informed about the place in Hell of certain eminent Florentines who have lately died. Vergil and Dante commence the descent to the fourth circle.

On the return of sense, which was shut up
Before the anguish of the kinsfolk twain,
Which utterly confounded me with grief,—
New torments and new victims I behold
Round me, howe'er I move, or turn, or look.
I am in the third circle—of the rain,
Ceaseless, and heavy, and accurst, and cold;
Ever the same in rule and quality.
Huge hail, and water foul, and snow, pour down
Athwart the murky air, and stinks the ground
Which catches these. The monster Cerberus,
Cruel, prodigious, with his gullets three,
Barks doglike o'er the people here submerged.
He has red eyes, and black and unctuous beard,
And belly huge, and paws with nails equipped.
He claws, and mouths, and into pieces rends
The spirits. The rain makes them howl like dogs.
One of their sides they make a screen, to shield
The other. Oft the wretches impious
Turn themselves to and fro. When that great worm,
Cerberus, marked us, he unclosed his mouths,
And showed his tusks; and not a limb he had
Which did not quiver: and my guide, his palms

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Outspreading, caught up earth, and with full fists
Into the greedy gullets threw it. Such
As is the dog which, baying, craves his food,
And quiet grows soon as in it he sets
His teeth, because he only tugs and fights
To swallow it,—such did those faces foul
Become of Cerberus, the fiend that stuns
So with his thundering bark the souls, that they
Would fain be deaf. We o'er the phantoms, laid
Prostrate beneath the heavy rain, passed on,
And on their emptiness which person seems,
We set our feet. Upon the ground they all
Were stretched, save one that raised itself to sit,
The moment it perceived us pass in front.
"O thou who through this Hell art being led,"
It said to me, "if thou art able, call
Me to remembrance: thou wast made before
I was unmade." And I to him: "Perchance
The anguish thou art suffering withdraws
Thee from my memory so, that it appears
As if I never saw thee. Tell me then,
Who art thou, that in such a woful place
Art put, and in such punishment, that if
Another greater be, so odious
Is none?" And he to me: "Thy city there,
Which is so full of envy that the sack
Already overflows, within itself
Contained me, in the life where shines the light.
To me you citizens the nickname gave
Of Ciacco. As thou seest, in the rain,
I, for the baneful vice of gluttony,
Lie shattered: and I, wretched soul, am not
The only one, for in like punishment
For like offence, are all of these:" and more

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He did not say. And I replied to him:
"Ciacco, thy misery so burdens me,
That it calls forth my tears; but if thou know'st,
Tell me to what will come the citizens
Of the divided city: if therein
Is any just: and what the reason is,
Tell me, why so great discord has assailed it?"
And he to me: "After long striving, they
Will come to blood; and with much injury
The rustic party will the other side
Drive out. Thereafter must the former fall,
Within three years, and gain the upper hand
The latter, by the force of some one who
Just now is hanging, tacking, off the coast.
Long it will carry high its front, and keep
The other under burdens sore, howe'er
It may lament thereat and be ashamed.
There are two who are just, but they are not
Regarded there. Pride, envy, avarice,
Are the three sparks that set all hearts on fire."
Here of his tearful words he made an end.
And I to him: "I pray thee, show me more;
And make a gift to me of further talk.
Farinata and Tegghiaio, once so worthy,
Jacopo Rusticucci, Arrigo, Mosca,
And the others, who to doing good applied
Their talents—tell me where they are, and cause
That I may know of them; for urges me
A great desire to learn if heaven delights
These with its sweets, or Hell envenoms them."
He answered: "They are with the blacker souls:
A different transgression weighs them down
Toward the bottom: if thou goest down
So far, thou canst behold them; but when thou

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Shalt be in the sweet world, to memory
Of men, I pray thee, bring me; more to thee
I say not, and I answer thee no more."
With that his eyes, which had been straight, he writhed
Sideways; a moment gazed at me, and then
His head he bowed, and with the other blind,
He to a level fell with it. To me
My Leader said: "He rises up no more,
This side the sound of the angelic trump,
What time the Power that is their enemy
Shall come. Each one again his dismal tomb
Will find: will take again his flesh and shape:
Will hear the sound which, to eternity,
Reverberates." Over the mixture foul
Of shades and rain, with paces slow we passed,
Touching a little on the future life.
Whence I: "These torments,—will they greater grow,
My Master, or diminish, or remain
Scorching as now, after the great award?"
And he: "Back to thy science turn, which holds
That, the more perfect a thing is, the more
It feels alike the pleasure and the pain.
Although this folk accurst can never come
To true perfection in the life beyond,
More than in this one they expect to be."
Around that road we wound, saying much more
Than I repeat, and at the point arrived
Where the descent is: Plutus here we found,
Who of man's peace is the great enemy.

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CANTO VII

Plutus salutes the poets with jargon. Vergil reassures Dante and rebukes Plutus. They see the punishment of the Avaricious and the Spendthrifts. Vergil explains the nature and functions of Fortune. They pass into the fifth circle to the marsh of Styx where are the souls of the Wrathful, and arrive at the foot of a tower.

"PAPE SATAN PAPE SATAN ALEPPE!"
Plutus with clucking utterance began.
And for my comfort spake that gentle sage,
Who all things knew: "Let thy fear harm thee not:
For, whatsoe'er his power, he will not stop
Thy going down this rock." He turned him round
Then to that swollen lip, and said: "Be still,
Thou cursed wolf! Consume thee inwardly
With thine own rage. This journey to the deep
Is not without a cause: 'tis willed on high,
There, where on the proud rape did Michael work
The vengeance." Just as in a heap the sails,
Swelled by the wind, collapse, when snaps the mast,
So fell the cruel monster to the earth.
Thus we descended into the fourth pit,
Making our way along the dismal bank
Which all the evil of the universe
Inwraps. Justice of God! Ah, who heaps up
So many sufferings and new travailings,
As those I saw? and wherefore does our guilt
Such havoc of us make? As does the surge
Upon Charybdis there, which breaks itself
On that which it encounters,—here the folk
Must dance their round. I here beheld a folk,

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Far more than elsewhere, rolling weights with power
Of chest, and howlings loud. Together they
Kept clashing; and, at point of meeting, each
Bore back, and rolled the weights the other way,
Crying: "Why holdest thou? Why squanderest thou?"
Along the gloomy round they thus returned
To the point opposite, on either hand,
Bawling their shameful measure evermore.
Then every one, when he had reached it, turned
Through his half circle, to the other tilt.
And I who felt my heart as it were stung,
Said: "Master, show me now what folk is this;
And whether all these shavelings on our left
Were clerks." And he to me, "So squint in mind,
In their first life, were each and all of them,
That they no spending with due measure made
Therein. Their voice right clearly barks it forth,
When at the two points of the circle, where
Contrary guilt disparts them, they arrive.
These who upon their heads no covering have
Of hair, were clerks, and Popes, and cardinals,
In whom is avarice wont to work its worst."
And I to him: "Master, 'mid such as these,
I surely some should recognize, who were
Polluted with these evils." He replied:
"An idle thought thou cherishest. Their life
Which, undiscerning, made them filthy, now
Makes them to every recognition dark.
To the two buttings they, forevermore,
Will come: these from the sepulchre will rise
With fists fast-clenched, and those with hair cut short.
Ill-giving and ill-keeping have from them
Taken away the beauteous world, and set
Them at this scuffle. What that is, with words

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I do not garnish. Now, my son, thou canst
Behold the brief gust of the goods which are
To Fortune trusted, for the which mankind
Each other tousle: because all the gold
That is beneath the moon, and ever was,
Rest to a single one of these tired souls
Could never give." "Master," I said to him:
"Now tell me further what this Fortune is
Of which to me thou hintest: she that has
Thus in her claws the good things of the world."
And he to me: "O how great ignorance
Is that which injures you, ye foolish creatures!
My judgment of her I would have thee now
Receive. The one whose wisdom all transcends,
The heavens made, and gave to them their guides,
So that on every part shines every part,
The light allotting equally. Likewise,
He for the splendors of the world ordained
A general ministress and guide, who should
From time to time the vain possessions change
From race to race, and blood to blood, beyond
The power of human wisdom to prevent.
Wherefore one people rules, another droops,
Pursuant to her judgment, who is hid,
Like serpent in the grass. Your wisdom has
No power to withstand her. She foresees,
Judges, and carries on her governance,
As do the other gods their own. No truce
Her shiftings have. Necessity compels
Her to be swift, so often some one comes
To take his turn: she is the one who is
So crucified, e'en by the same who ought
To praise her when they give her wrongful blame
And ill report: yet blest she is, and this

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She does not hear: gladsome she is, among
The other primal creatures, and she turns
Her sphere, and her beatitude enjoys.
Descend we now to greater misery.
Each star that was, when I set forth, arising,
Already is declining, and forbidden
Is too long staying." To the other bank
We crossed the circle, and a fountain reached,
Which boils, and pours itself along a trench
That leads from it. Darker by far than perse
The water was; and by the sombre waves
Accompanied, along a pathway weird,
We downward struck. This dismal rivulet,
When to the foot of the malign gray slopes
It has descended, forms a marsh, which bears
The name of Styx: and I who was intent
To gaze, saw muddy people in that bog,
All naked, and with look of injured folk.
These were each other smiting, not alone
With hand, but with the head, and breast, and feet,
Mangling each other, piecemeal, with their teeth.
"Son," the good Master said: "thou seest now
The souls of those whom anger overcame.
And likewise I would have thee to believe
For certain, that beneath this water are
People who sigh, and on the surface make
This water bubble, as thine eye reveals
To thee, where'er it turns: fixed in the mire,
They say: 'We were morose, in the sweet air
Which by the sun is gladdened, in ourselves
Carrying a sluggish reek: now here we sulk
In the black slime.' This chant within their throat
They gurgle, for they cannot give it voice
With words complete." Thus, of the filthy slough

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We compass a great arc, between the marsh
And the dry bank; turning our eyes on each
Who mire is gulping down; and so we came,
At last, to the foundation of a tower.

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CANTO VIII

They see two lights displayed at the top of the tower, which are answered by another at a distance. A small vessel is seen approaching, piloted by Phlegyas the ferryman of the Styx, who takes the poets on board and begins to cross. Filippo Argenti rises from the mire and accosts Dante, who repels him. The fiery minarets of the city of Dis are seen at a distance. The vessel enters the moat which surrounds the city. A throng of enraged spirits appears to resist the entrance of the poets. Vergil leaves Dante and goes to confer with them. The gates are shut in his face, and he returns discomfited.

Continuing, I say that, long before
We to the foot of the high tower had come,
Our eyes went upward to its top, because
We saw displayed thereon two little flames,
And from so far that scarcely could the eye
Catch it, another give a signal back.
And to the Sea of all intelligence
I turned, and said: "What is it this one says?
And what replies the other fire? and who
Are they that made it?" And to me he said:
"Thou canst, already, o'er the filthy waves,
Discern what is expected, if from thee
The fog of the morass conceal it not."
Never did cord an arrow from itself
Propel, which through the air so swiftly sped
As did a little vessel which I saw,
That instant, standing for us o'er the wave,
Steered by a single helmsman, who exclaimed:
"Now here thou art, vile soul!" "Phlegyas!" replied
My Master, "Phlegyas, vainly thou, this time,
Art crying out. Only while we the mire
Are passing, shalt thou have us." As is he

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Who to some monstrous fraud which has been wrought
Upon him, listens, and thereafter chafes
At that, such Phlegyas in his gathered wrath
Became. Into the boat my Guide went down,
And then he made me enter after him,
And laden seemed it not till I was in.
Soon as my Guide and I were in the boat,
The ancient prow goes on its way, and cuts
More of the water than 'tis wont to do
With others. While we through the dead canal
Were running, one before me placed himself,
All full of mire, and said: "Who art thou, who
Art come before thy time?" And I to him:
"I stay not, though I come; but who art thou
That art become so filthy?" He replied:
"Thou seest I am one who make lament."
And I to him: "Stay there, thou cursed soul,
With weeping and with grief: for thee I know,
All filthy as thou art." Then both his hands
He stretched forth to the boat; and thereupon
The wary Master pushed him off, and said:
"Begone there, with the other dogs!" My neck
Then with his arms he clasped, and kissed my face,
And said: "Disdainful spirit, blest is she
That bore thee. That one was, up in the world,
A person full of arrogance; there is
No goodness which his memory adorns:
So is his shadow in a fury here.
How many there above now hold themselves
To be great kings, who here shall be like swine
In mire, and for themselves shall dire contempt
Behind them leave." And I: "Before we pass
Out from the lake, I would right happy be,
Master, to see him in this pottage soused."

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And he to me: "Thou shalt be satisfied,
Before the shore disclose itself to thee:
It will be meet that thou be gratified
In such a wish." A little after this,
I saw the muddy people make of him
Such havoc, that for this I still give praise
And thanks to God. They all set up a shout:
"Have at Philippo Argenti!" and, enraged,
The spirit Florentine upon himself
Turned with his teeth. We left him there, and hence,
No more I tell of him: but on my ears
A lamentation smote, so that my eye
I open wide with forward gaze intent.
Said the good Master: "Nearing now, my son,
The city is which bears the name of Dis,
With townsmen pestilent, with rabble great."
And I: "Already, Master, I descry
Its minarets, distinctly, there within
The valley, red, as if from fire they sprang."
And he replied to me: "The eternal fire
Which these inflames within, this ruddy hue
Imparts, as in this nether Hell thou seest."
We came at last within the fosses deep
Which that sad city trench. The walls, to me,
Like iron seemed. Not without making first
A circuit great, we at a place arrived,
Where loudly cried to us the boatman: "Out!
Here is the entrance!" O'er the gates I saw
More than a thousand, from the heavens fallen,
Who angrily were crying: "Who is this,
Who, without death, is passing through the realm
Of the dead folk?" And my sage Master made
A sign, that he in private wished to speak
With them. Then they repressed their great disdain

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Somewhat, and said: "Thou by thyself approach
And let that one begone who has this realm
So daringly invaded. By the path
His folly chose, let him return alone.
Try if he knows; for thou shalt here remain
Who through so dark a region hast convoyed him."
Bethink thee, reader, if I was dismayed
On hearing the accursed words; for I
Thought that I never hither should return.
"O my dear Guide, who, more than seven times,
My courage hast restored, and rescued me
From the deep peril which confronted me,—
Leave me not thus undone," I said, "and if
The going farther be to us refused,
Let us, together, hastily retrace
Our footsteps." And that lord who thither had
Conducted me, replied: "Be not afraid,
For none can take away from us our passage,
By such an one it is vouchsafed to us.
But thou await me here; and with good hope
Thy weary spirit brace and feed; for I
Will not desert thee in this lower world."
Thus on his way the gentle Father goes,
And leaves me here, and I remain in doubt;
For yes and no within my head contend.
That which was proffered them I could not hear;
But long he was not with them there, when each
With other vied in running back within.
Those enemies of ours shut fast the gates
In my lord's face, who stayed without, and turne
Again to me with paces slow. He had
His eyes upon the ground, and shorn his brows
Of boldness all; and he with sighs was saying:
"Who has refused me the abodes of woe?"

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And he to me: "Be not dismayed, although
To anger I am moved, for I will win
The contest, whatsoe'er, to keep us out,
Is stirring round within. Not novel is
This insolence of theirs. They practised it
Once, at a gate less secret, which is found
Still without bolt. O'er this the words of death
Thou sawest written; and, this side of it,
Already, without escort, passing through
The circles, such an one descends the steep,
That by his aid the city will be opened."

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CANTO IX

Vergil, at Dante's request, relates his former visit to Hell. The three Furies appear on a tower of the city. An angel comes over the Styx who rebukes the rebel spirits, and opens the gate. The two poets enter the city. They see the tombs in which the heretics are punished.

That hue which, when I saw my Guide turn back,
Cowardice painted outwardly on me,
More quickly his new color did repress.
He stopped, attentive, like a man that harks;
For through the black air and the mist compact
Not far his eye could lead him. "Yet we must,"
Began he, "win the fight, unless—such help
To us was proffered. O how long to me
It is, till here another one arrive!"
How, with the rest that followed, he concealed
That which he uttered first, I plainly saw:
For these were words that differed from the first.
But none the less his speaking caused me fear,
For I, perhaps, drew out his speech curtailed
Into a meaning worse than what he held.
"Into this bottom of the dismal pit,
From the first grade does ever one descend,
Whose only punishment is hope cut off?"
I asked this question, and he answered me:
"It seldom comes to pass that any one
Of us the journey makes on which I go.
Another time, 'tis true, I was down here,
Conjured by fell Erichtho, who called back
Shades to their bodies. But a little time
My flesh had been bereft of me, when she

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Made me to pass within that wall, to bring
A spirit of the round of Judas thence.
That is the very lowest place of all,
And darkest, and the farthest from the Heaven
Which all revolves. Full well I know the road:
Therefore assure thyself. This fen that breathes
The mighty stench, engirds the city sad,
Where now we cannot enter without wrath."
And something else he said, but not in mind
I have it, for my eye had drawn me all
Toward the lofty tower with ruddy top,
Where, in an instant, sudden were uprisen
Three hellish Furies, stained with blood, who had
The limbs and mien of women, and were girt
With greenest hydras: little snakes for hair,
And serpents horned they had, with which were bound
Their savage temples. And that one, who well
Did recognize the handmaids of the Queen
Of the eternal wailing, said to me:
"See the Erinnyes fierce! Megaera is
On the left side: that is Alecto, who
Is weeping on the right: Tisiphone
Is 'twixt the two:" with that he held his peace.
Each one her breast was tearing with her nails;
They beat them with their palms, and cried so loud,
That I, for fear, close to the poet pressed.
"Now let Medusa come; so we to stone
Will change him," said they all, as they looked down:
" 'Twas ill that we did not, for his assault,
Take vengeance upon Theseus." "Backward turn,
And keep thine eyes shut; for if shows herself
The Gorgon, and thou shouldst upon her look,
Returning upward would be nevermore."
Thus said the Master, and he turned me round,

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Himself, and did not trust my hands so far
As not to blind me with his own. O ye
Who are of understanding sound, observe
The teaching hidden underneath the veil
Of the strange verses. And already came
Across the turbid waves a crash of sound,
With terror fraught, whence both the shores did shake;
A sound as of a wind, impetuous
From counter heats, which, unimpeded, smites
The forest, rends the boughs, and beats them down,
And bears them off, and marches proudly on,
Marshalled by clouds of dust, and puts to flight
The wild beasts and the shepherds. He released
My eyes, and said: "Now turn the nerve of sight
Across that ancient scum, to where the smoke
Is most distressing." As before their foe
The serpent, through the water, one and all,
Vanish the frogs, till huddled is each one
Upon the bottom,—so did I behold
More than a thousand ruined souls in flight
Before one who across the Styx, dry-shod,
Was at the ferry passing. From his face
He was dispersing that thick air, ofttimes
Before him waving his left hand; and seemed
With that annoyance only to be tired.
I clearly saw that he was sent from Heaven,
And to my Master turned, who made a sign
That I should quiet stand, and bow me down
To him. Ah! how disdainful he appeared
To me! Up to the gate he made his way,
And with a little rod he opened it,
For hindrance there was none. "Outcast from Heaven
People despised," on the dread threshold he
Began: "Whence does this arrogance in you

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Find entrance? Why do ye resist that will
Whereof can never frustrate be the end,
And which has many a time increased your woe?
What profits it to butt against the fates?
Your Cerberus, if ye remember well,
Still for this carries peeled his chin and throat."
Then he returned along the filthy road,
And spoke no word to us, but wore the look
Of one whom other care constrains and stings
Than that of him who is before his face.
And we toward the city bent our steps,
Relieved of fear after the holy words.
All unopposed we entered there within:
And I who wished to see what state of things
A stronghold such as this keeps under lock,
Soon as I was within cast round my eye,
And see on every side a spacious plain,
All full of suffering and of cruel torment.
Just as at Arles, where Rhone becomes a marsh,
Just as at Pola, near Quarnaro's gulf,
Which shuts in Italy and bathes its bounds,—
So here they did on all sides, save that here
The fashion was more bitter; for dispersed
Among the tombs were flames, whereby they were
Fired so completely that no craft requires
More glowing iron. Their lids were all upraised,
And forth from them such lamentations dire
Proceeded, that they seemed indeed to come
From wretched people and from those in pain.
And I: "What folk are these, my Master, who,
Entombed within these coffers, make themselves
Heard by their doleful sighs?" And he to me:
"Here the Heresiarchs with their followers
Of all sects are; and laden are the tombs

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More than thou thinkest. Like with like is here
Buried, and more and less the monuments
Are hot." Then, having turned to right, we passed
Between the torments and the bastions high.

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CANTO X

Dante and Vergil proceed along a path between the tombs and the wall of the city. Dante desires to look into some of the tombs. The shade of Farinata appears, and while he is conversing with Dante, the shade of Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti rises in the same tomb. The latter, inferring from Dante's words that his son Guido is dead, falls back and disappears. Farinata predicts misfortune to Dante, and explains the nature and extent of the knowledge possessed by the damned.

Now by a secret path my Master goes
Between the torments and the city-wall,
And I behind his back. I thus began:
"Virtue supreme, that turnest me along
The sinful circles, as it pleases thee,
Speak to me, and my wishes satisfy.
The people lying in the sepulchres—
Might they be seen? Already all the lids
Are lifted, and no one is keeping guard."
And he to me: "They all will be locked in,
When from Jehoshaphat they shall return
Here, with the bodies they have left above.
In this part Epicurus is entombed,
And with him all his followers, who make
The spirit with the body dead. Thou shalt
Within this place be quickly satisfied
Touching the question which thou askest me,
And also touching the desire, of which
Thou silent art to me." And I: "Good Guide,
My heart I do not keep concealed from thee,
Save to speak briefly; and not only now
Hast thou to this disposed me." "Tuscan, thou
Who through the fiery city goest on,

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Alive, and thus discoursing modestly,
Mayst thou be pleased to tarry in this place.
Thy mode of speech shows plainly that thou art
A native of that noble fatherland,
To which, perhaps, I was too troublesome."
All of a sudden issued from within
One of the chests, this sound; whereat, in fear,
I drew a little closer to my Guide.
And he to me said: "Turn! What doest thou?
See Farinata there who is uprisen.
From the waist upward thou wilt see him all."
Already I had fixed my face on his,
And he himself upraised with breast and front,
As though he had a great contempt for Hell.
My Leader's bold and ready hands did push
Me 'mongst the sepulchres to him. He said:
"Well ordered be thy words!" As soon as I
Had come to his tomb's foot, he looked at me
A little, and, as if disdainful, asked
Of me, "Who were thine ancestors?" And I,
Who was desirous to obey, from him
Concealed it not, but all of it disclosed
To him: whereat he lifted up his brows
A little, saying: "Bitterly, to me,
And to my party and my forefathers,
They were opposed, so that two several times
I scattered them." "If they were driven out,"
I answered him, "from every quarter they
Returned both times; but rightly have not learned
Your partisans that art." Then at the mouth,
Uncovered far as to the chin, arose
Beside this one a shade. It had, I think,
Raised itself on its knees. Round me it looked,
As though it wished to see if some one else

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Were in my company; but when all vain
Was its conjecture, "If," it weeping said,
"Through this blind prison, by the loftiness
Of genius, thou dost go, where is my son?
And wherefore is he not with thee?" And I
To him: "I come not of myself. That one
Who yonder waits conducts me through this place,
Whom, haply, in contempt your Guido held."
His words and mode of punishment had read
To me his name already: hence so full
My answer was. He on a sudden raised
Himself upright, and cried: "How didst thou say,
'He held'? Is not he living still? Does not
The sweet light strike his eyes?" When he was ware
Of some delay, which, ere I answered him,
I made, he backward fell, and he appeared
No more outside. But still that other one,
High-souled, at whose behest I had remained,
Did not his aspect change, or move his neck,
Or bend his side; but said, continuing
His former words: "And if they have that art
Learned badly, greater torment than this couch
That gives me. But not fifty times shall be
The face rekindled of the dame who here
Bears rule, ere thou shalt know how heavy is
That art. And, so to the sweet world, some time,
Mayst thou return, as thou shalt tell me why
That people is so pitiless to mine,
In every law?" I thereupon to him:
"The rout and the great carnage which dyed red
The Arbia, causes such law to be made
Within our temple." After he his head
Had shaken, sighing, "Not alone," he said,
"I was in that, nor surely without cause

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Would I have with the others moved; but there,
Where leave was given to demolish Florence,
By every one, I only was the one
Who with an open face defended her."
"Ah, so, some time," I prayed him, "may your seed
Have rest: untie for me that knot which here
My judgment has entangled. If I hear
Aright, it seems that you foresee what time
Is bringing with it; while another way
You hold as to the present." "We," he said,
"See, just as one who has imperfect light,
The things remote from us; so much on us
Still shines the Guide supreme. When they draw near,
Or are, all vain is our intelligence:
And if another bring it not to us,
We have no knowledge of your human state.
Hence thou canst understand that wholly dead
Will be our knowledge, from the moment when
The portal of the future shall be closed."
Then, as if contrite for my fault, I said:
"Now you will therefore tell that fallen one
That still his son is with the living joined.
And if I was just now without the words
To answer, let him know that so I was,
Because my thought already was employed
Upon the error you have loosed for me."
Whence I more hastily besought the shade
To tell me who was with him. "Here I lie,"
He said to me, "with more than fifty score.
Within here is the second Frederick;
Also the Cardinal; and of the rest
I do not speak." Therewith he hid himself,
And I toward the ancient Poet turned
My steps, reflecting on those words which seemed

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Hostile to me. He onward moved, and then,
Thus going, said to me: "Why art thou thus
Disturbed?" And to his question I returned
An answer that sufficed him. "Let thy mind
Retain what thou hast heard against thyself,"
That sage commanded me, "and now heed this":
And he his finger raised. "When thou shalt be
Before her gentle radiance whose fair eye
Sees every thing, then shalt thou learn from her
The course thy life will take." Then to the left
His foot he turned: we left the wall, and went
Toward the middle, by a path which strikes
Into a valley which annoying made
Its stench as far as to the point above.

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CANTO XI

The poets reach the edge of the bank which overhangs the seventh circle, and take refuge behind the tomb of Pope Anastasius, in order to accustom their senses to the stench which ascends from below. Vergil explains to Dante the classification of the sins punished in the lower Hell.

Upon the margin of a lofty bank,
Formed, in a circle, by great, broken rocks,
Above a yet more cruel keep we came;
And here, by reason of the dire excess
Of the foul odor which the deep abyss
Throws up, we drew ourselves behind the lid
Of a great tomb, whereon I saw a script,
Which said: "I hold Pope Anastasius,
He whom Photinus lured from the right way."
"Slow it behoves that our descending be,
So that our sense may grow a little used,
First, to the putrid blast; and afterward
It will not matter." Thus the Master said.
And I to him: "Find thou some recompense,
In order that the time run not to waste."
And he: "Thou seest that I think of that.
My son," he then began, "within these rocks
Three little circles in gradation are,
Like those which thou art leaving. All are full
Of souls accurst; but that hereafter may
The sight alone suffice for thee, hear how
And why they are shut up. Of every kind
Of wickedness which hatred wins in Heaven,
The end is injury; and every end
Like this, by violence or else by fraud

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Others afflicts; but since fraud is to man
An ill peculiar, more to God it is
Displeasing; and the fraudulent have place
Therefore, below, and woe assails them more.
All the first circle to the violent
Belongs; but inasmuch as violence
Is wrought upon three persons, in three rounds
It is divided and arranged. To God,
To self, and to a neighbor, may be done
Violence; to them, I say, and what is theirs,
As thou with plain discourse shalt hear. By force,
Upon one's neighbor are inflicted death,
And painful wounds; and on his property,
Destruction, fires, extortion ruinous:
Whence homicides, and every one that smites
Maliciously, destroyers, plunderers,—
The first round all torments in different groups.
Man may lay violent hands upon himself,
And on his goods; and in the second round,
He, therefore, must without avail repent,
Whoever of your world deprives himself,
Gambles away his means, and squanders them,
And there laments where cheerful he should be
Violence may to the Deity be done,
By cursing and denying him in heart,
And scorning Nature, and his bounty: hence
The smallest round doth with its signet seal
Both Sodom and Cahors; and whoso speaks
With his own heart, casting contempt on God.
The fraud by which is every conscience stung,
A man may practise upon him who trusts
In him, and upon him who entertains
No confidence. This latter fashion seems
To do away only the bond of love

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Which Nature forms; and therefore make their nest
Within the second round, hypocrisy,
And flatterers, and he who practises
Magic; and robbery and simony;
Panders and barrators, and such like filth.
There is forgotten by the other mode
The love which Nature makes, as well as that
Which afterward is added, by the which
The special trust is bred; and hence within
The smallest round, where of the universe
The point is upon which is seated Dis,
Whoe'er betrays forever is consumed."
And I: "Right clearly, Master, thy discourse
Proceeds, and well enough partitions out
This deep gulf, and the folk that dwells therein.
But tell me—those within the fat morass,
Whom the wind sways and the rain pelts, and those
Who with such biting tongues encounter,—why
Are not they punished in the fire-red town,
If God in anger holds them? And if so
He holds them not, why are they in such plight?"
And he to me: "Why strays thy wit so far
Beyond its wont? Or is it that thy mind
Some otherwhere is looking? Dost thou not
Recall those words, in which thy "Ethics" treats
The dispositions three against the which
The will of Heaven is set—incontinence,
And malice, and mad bestiality?
And how incontinence gives less offence
To God, and gets less blame? If thou shalt well
Ponder this doctrine, and recall to mind
Who are the ones that suffer punishment
Above, outside, thou clearly wilt perceive
Why from these wretches they are set apart,

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And wherefore divine vengeance hammers them
Less wrathfully." "O sun, that art the cure
Of all beclouded vision, so content
Thou makest me when thou unravellest,
That doubt no less than knowledge pleases me.
Yet turn a little back," I said, "to where
Thou say'st that usury offends against
God's goodness, and unloose the knot." He said:
"Philosophy, for him who knows her, notes,
Not in one place alone, how Nature takes
From the divine intelligence her course,
And from its art: and if thy 'Physics' well
Thou note, thou wilt, after not many leaves
Discover that your art, far as it can,
As pupil follows master, follows her;
So that your art is grandchild, as it were,
To God. From these two, if thou call to mind
In its beginning, Genesis, behoves
The human race to gain its livelihood
And thrive; and since the usurer pursues
Another way, both Nature, in herself
And in her follower, he scorns, because
He sets his hope upon another thing.
But follow me forthwith; for I would fain
Be going on, because the Fishes are
On the horizon quivering, and the Wain,
All of it, over Caurus lies, and far
Beyond there, lies our passage down the steep."

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CANTO XII

The descent into the seventh circle. The Minotaur. Vergil relates how and when the rocky slope was formed. The river of blood guarded by Centaurs. Nessus challenges the poets. Vergil confers with Chiron, who appoints Nessus as an escort. Nessus points out certain tyrants in the river of blood, and shows how the stream varies in depth. At the shallowest point Dante crosses on the back of Nessus, who immediately returns.

The place where to descend the bank we came,
Was alpine; and because of what was there
Besides, was such as every eye would shun.
Such as that landslip which, this side of Trent,
Struck on its flank the Adige, set loose
By earthquake or defective prop,—for so
The rock is shattered from the mountain's top
From which it started, to the plain below,
That it some track might furnish one who chanced
To be above,—just such was the descent
Of that ravine; and on the very edge
Of the jagged hollow lay the Infamy
Of Crete, stretched out, which was conceived within
The counterfeited cow: and seeing us,
He bit himself as one whom wrath consumes
Within. Toward him cried my Sage: "Perhaps
Thou think'st that here the Duke of Athens is,
Who in the world above gave thee thy death.
Begone, thou beast! for this one does not come
Schooled by thy sister, but is on his way
To view your punishments." As is that bull
Which, at the moment when already he
Has gotten his death-stroke, his tether breaks,
And cannot walk, but plunges here and there,—

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In such wise I beheld the Minotaur
Acting; and, all alert, my Leader cried:
"Run to the pass! While he is in his fit
Of rage, 'tis well that thou descend." Our way
Thus we took downward, over that discharge
Of stones, which often moved beneath my feet,
By reason of the novel weight. I went
Musing along; and, "Thou perchance," he said,
"Art thinking on this ruin, over which
Mounts guard that bestial fury which, just now,
I quelled. Now will I have thee know that when
Down here into the nether Hell I came,
The other time, not yet had fallen down
This cliff; but surely, if I rightly judge,
A little while before He came, who took
From Dis the mighty spoil that was within
The highest circle, upon every side,
The deep, foul vale so trembled that I thought
The universe felt love, whereby, there are
Who think, the world has often been resolved
To chaos; and, that moment, this old rock,
Both here and elsewhere, such a downfall made.
But downward fix thine eyes; because draws nigh
The river of blood, wherein boils every one
Who injury by violence inflicts
On others." O cupidity, that blind
And wicked art, and mad, that spurs us so
In the brief life, and after, in the life
Eternal, steeps us in such evil wise!
I saw a broad trench, bent into an arc,
As that which all the plain encompasses,
According to that which my Guide had said.
And 'twixt the bottom of the bank and this,
Centaurs, with arrows armed, in file were running,

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As in the world a-hunting they were wont
To go. Perceiving us descend, each one
Halted, and from the troop detached themselves
Three, with their bows, and shafts already picked.
And from afar one cried: "Ye who descend
The hillside, to what torment do ye come?
Tell it from where you are, or else I draw
The bow." My Master said: "To Chiron there,
Near by, we will our answer make: thy will
Was ever, to thy harm, so hasty." Then
He touched me, saying: "That is Nessus, who
Died for fair Deianira, and himself
Wreaked vengeance for himself; and, midmost, he
Who gazes at his breast, is the great Chiron,
The one who reared Achilles: Pholus is
That other one, who was so full of wrath.
They go by thousands round about the trench,
Smiting with arrows whatsoever soul
Emerges from the blood more than its sin
Allots it." We approached those monsters swift,
And Chiron took a shaft, and with the notch
Put back his beard upon his jaws. When he
Had his great mouth uncovered, to his mates
He said: "Are ye aware that that one there
Behind, moves what he touches? Dead men's feet
Are not so wont to do." And my good Guide,
Who was already at his breast, where joined
Are the two natures, answered: "He indeed
Is living, and I thus alone must show
To him the valley dark. Necessity,
Not pleasure brings him hither. One who laid
This novel charge on me, withdrew herself
From singing Alleluia. He is not
A robber, nor am I a robber's soul.

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But, by that power through which I move my steps
Along a road so savage, give to us
One of thy troop, to whom we may keep near,
To show us where the ford is, and to bear
This one upon his back; for he is not
A spirit, that can travel through the air."
On his right breast turned Chiron, and he said
To Nessus: "Turn, and guide them as he asks:
And if another troop encounter you,
Make it turn out." We, with our trusty guide,
Along the brink of the red boiling moved,
Wherein the boiled were uttering loud shrieks.
Beneath I saw folk to the brows immersed:
And the great Centaur said: "Tyrants are these
Who laid their hands on blood and property.
They here bewail their ruthless injuries.
Here Alexander is, and Dionysius
Inhuman, who made Sicily endure
Sorrowful years: and yonder brow, with hair
So black, is Azzolino; and the other,
Who is fair-haired, Obizzo of Esti,
Who, verily, up yonder in the world,
Was by his stepson slain." Then to the Bard
I turned me, and he said: "Let this one now
Be first with thee, and second let me be."
A little farther on the Centaur stopped
Above a folk who, far as to the throat,
Appeared to issue from that boiling stream.
A shade he showed us, on one side, alone,
And said: "He in God's bosom cleft the heart
Which on the Thames is venerated still."
Then I saw people who from out the stream
Upheld the head and all the chest beside;
And recognized right many of them. Thus

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Still more and more sank down the blood, until
The feet alone it cooked; and o'er the trench
Here lay our passage. "As the boiling stream
Thou seest ever dwindling on this side,"
The Centaur said, "I wish thee to believe
That more and more it lowers its bed, till round
It comes again where tyranny must needs
Lament. On this side Heaven's justice goads
That Attila who was a scourge on earth,
Pyrrhus, and Sextus; and forever draws
The tears which with the boiling it unseals
In Rinier da Corneto and Rinier Pazzo,
Who caused upon the highways so much strife."
Then back he turned, and crossed the ford again.

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CANTO XIII

They enter the second round, occupied by those who do violence to themselves. The Wood of the Suicides. The broken branch bleeds and speaks. Pier delle Vigne recounts his wrongs and protests his integrity. He explains to Dante how the spirits of the Suicides are confined within trees. Lano da Siena and Jacomo da St. Andrea are seen tearing through the bushes and pursued by dogs. A Florentine Suicide prophesies misfortune to Florence.

Not yet had Nessus reached the other side,
When we began our passage through a wood,
Which by no path was marked. Not green the leaves,
But of a dusky hue; not branches smooth,
But gnarled and twisted; and no fruits were there,
But thorns with poison. Holts so rough and dense
Inhabit not those savage beasts that hate
The cultivated tracts which are between
Caecina and Corneto. In this wood
Their nests the ugly Harpies make, which chased
The Trojans from the Strophades away,
With dismal prophecy of future harm.
They have broad wings, and human neck and face,
And feet with claws, and the huge belly plumed.
On the weird trees they utter lamentations.
And the good Master: "Ere thou goest in
Farther," began to say to me, "observe
That thou art in the second round, and there
Wilt be, till to the dreadful sand thou come.
Therefore look well, and so thou shalt behold
Things which would faith in what I say destroy."
Already, upon every side, I heard
Wailings prolonged, and saw no one to make them;

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Whence, all confused, I stopped. I think that he
Thought that I thought so many voices came,
Amid the trunks, from people who had hid
Themselves because of us. The Master said,
Therefore: "If any twig thou breakest off
Of some one of these plants, the thoughts thou hast
Will wholly come to nought." Then I reached forth
My hand a little, and I plucked away
From a great thorn a little branch; and cried
Its trunk: "Why dost thou rend me?" When it had
Become thereafter dark with blood, again,
"Why dost thou break me?" it began to cry.
"Hast thou no spirit of compassion? We
Were men, and now are shoots become: thy hand,
Forsooth, should have been more compassionate,
If we had chanced to be the souls of snakes."
As from a green brand, lighted at one end,
Which from the other drips, and with the wind
That is escaping, hisses, so came forth,
Together, from that splinter, words and blood:
Wherefore I dropped the tip, and was like one
Who is afraid. "If he," my Sage replied,
"O wounded soul, could have believed before
That which he only in my verse has seen,
He would not have put forth his hand on thee;
But me the thing incredible constrained
To prompt him to an act which burdens me
Myself. But tell him who thou wast, so that,
By way of some amends, he may refresh
Thy fame up in the world to which he is
Permitted to return." And thus the trunk:
"Thou so allurest me with pleasant speech,
That I cannot be silent; and to you
Let it not be annoying if I am

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Enticed to talk a little. I am he
Who kept the keys of Frederick's heart, and these,
So softly locking and unlocking, turned,
That from his secret almost every man,
I kept apart. Fidelity so great
I bore my glorious office, that I lost
My sleep and my life-pulses both, thereby.
The harlot who ne'er turned her strumpet eyes
From Cæsar's dwelling, common death and vice
Of courts, inflamed against me every mind;
And these, inflamed, inflamed Augustus so,
That my glad honors turned to dismal griefs.
My spirit, moved by taste of scorn to think
That I could scorn escape by dying, made
Me, although just, unjust against myself.
I, by the new roots of this tree, to you
Swear that I never to my lord, who was
Of honor so deserving, broke my faith.
And if of you one to the world return,
Let him revive my memory, which still
Lies prostrate from the blow which Envy dealt it."
Awhile he paused, and then the Poet said
To me: "Since he is silent, do not lose
The time, but speak, and ask him, if it please
Thee to know more." Whence I to him: "Do thou
Still further question him of what thou think'st
Will satisfy me; for such pity moves
My heart, that I could not." He thereupon,
Began again: "So may this man for thee,
Imprisoned spirit, freely do whate'er
Thy words entreat of him, as thou shalt please
To tell us further how the soul is bound
Within these gnarls; and tell us, if thou canst,
If any from such limbs is ever freed."

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Then strongly blew the trunk, and afterward,
That wind was changed into a voice like this :
"Briefly an answer shall be given you.
Whene'er the spirit from the body parts,
Whence, maddened, it has torn itself away,
Minos consigns it to the seventh gulf.
It falls into the forest, and no place
Is chosen for it there; but there it sprouts
Where fortune flings it, like a grain of spelt;
Then to a sapling, and a forest-tree
It grows. The Harpies, then, upon its leaves
Feeding, give pain, and for the pain a vent.
We, like the others, for our spoils will come,
But not that any one may clothe with them
Himself again; for 'tis not just that one
Should have what from himself he takes away.
These we shall hither drag, and up and down
The dismal wood our bodies shall be hung,
Each on the thorntree of its shade harassed."
We to the trunk as yet were giving heed,
Thinking that it might wish to tell us more,
When by a din we were surprised, like one
Who toward his post perceives the boar and hunt
Advancing, and who hears the beasts give tongue,
And branches crash. And lo, upon our left,
Two, scratched and naked, in such headlong flight,
That every hurdle of the wood they broke.
"Now hasten, hasten Death!" the foremost cried.
And the other one, who thought himself too slow,
Cried: "Lano, not so nimble were thy legs
At joustings of Il Toppo." And perhaps
Because his breath was failing, of himself
And of a bush he made a group. The wood
Behind them of black bitches was all full,

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Ravenous, and like greyhounds that have slipped
Their leashes, running. In that one who crouched
They set their teeth, and tore him piece by piece;
Then carried off those miserable limbs.
Then did my Escort take me by the hand,
And led me to the bush which, all in vain,
Was weeping through its bloody rents. It said:
"O Jacomo da Sant' Andrea, what
Availed it thee to make of me a screen?
How for thy sinful life am I to blame?"
When now the Master was above it standing,
He said: "Who wast thou, who with blood dost blow
Through wounds so many thy distressful speech?"
And he to us: "O spirits who are come
To see the shameful havoc which from me
Has thus my leaves dissevered, gather them
At bottom of the miserable bush.
I of that city was that made exchange
Of her first patron for the Baptist: whence,
Because of this, he ever, with his art,
Will make it sorrowful: and were it not
That, on the crossing of the Arno, still
Remains of him some semblance, all in vain
Those citizens who built it up again,
Afterward, on the ashes which remained
From Attila,—had had the work performed.
I made myself a gibbet of my house."

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CANTO XIV

The third round of the seventh circle. The sandy plain and the rain of fire. Capaneus. They reach the stream of Phlegethon at another point. Vergil explains the origin of the infernal rivers.

Because affection for my native place
Constrained me, I again the scattered leaves
Gathered, and gave them back to him who was,
By this time, faint. Then to the boundary
We came, where from the third the second round
Divides, and where appears a dreadful mode
Of justice. That I clearly may explain
The novel things, I say that to a waste
We came, which from its bed rejects all plants.
The doleful wood inwreathes it, as the wood
Engirds the dismal trench. We stayed our steps
Here on the very edge. A stretch of sand
The ground was, dense and dry, not different
In fashion from that which by Cato's feet
Was trodden once. Vengeance of God! how much
Shouldst thou be feared by every one that reads
That which was manifested to my eyes!
Of naked souls I many bands beheld,
Who all were weeping very piteously,
And on them seemed a law diverse imposed.
Some people lay supine upon the ground;
Some sat, all huddled up, and others walked
Continually. Far more in number were
Those who were going round, and fewer those
Who in the torment lay, but freer were

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Their tongues to speak their woe. O'er all the sand,
With slow descent, dilated flakes of fire
Were falling down like snow-flakes in the Alps,
Without a wind. As in those torrid climes
Of India, Alexander, on his host
Saw falling flames, unbroken, to the ground,
Wherefore he took precaution, with his troops
To trample down the soil, because the vapor
More easily was stifled while alone:
So was descending that eternal heat,
By which, like tinder under steel, the sand
Was kindled for the doubling of the woe.
Ever without cessation was the dance
Of the poor hands, on this side now, and now
On that, as from themselves they shook away
The freshly-fallen burning. I began:
"Master, who overcomest all things, save
The demons obstinate who issued forth
Against us, at the entrance of the gate,—
Who is that mighty soul, who for the fire
Seems not to care, and lies so insolent
And lowering, that the rain does not appear
To make him mellower?" And that same one,
Who was aware that I was questioning
My Guide about him, cried: "Such as I was
Alive, such am I dead. Though Jove should tire
His smith, from whom he in his anger took
The pointed thunderbolt by which I was
Smitten on my last day, or should exhaust
By turns the others at the sooty forge
In Mongibello, crying 'Help, O help,
Good Vulcan!' as he did at Phlegra's fight,
And hurl with all his might at me,—thereby
He could not have a glad revenge." My Guide

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Then spoke with energy so great, that I
Had ne'er so forceful heard him: "Capaneus,
Punished the more thou art, in that thy pride
Remains unquenched: no torment save thy rage
Were pain that would thy fury's measure fill."
Then, with a calmer look, he turned to me,
And said: "One of the seven kings was he,
Who Thebes besieged, and held, and seems to hold
God in contempt, and seems to prize him little:
But, even as I told him, his affronts
Are ornaments which well beseem his breast.
Now follow me, and see thou do not set
Thy feet, hereafter, on the burning sand,
But always keep them closely to the wood."
Silent, we reached the place where, from the wood,
Gushes a little brook, whose redness still
Makes me to shudder. As a rivulet
From Bulicame flows, which, afterward,
The sinful women share among themselves,
So downward through the sand that brooklet went.
The bottom and both banks were petrified:
And, on the side, the margins: wherefore I
Perceived that there, by those, we were to pass.
"Among all else that I have shown to thee,
Since by the gate whose threshold is to none
Denied, we entered, by thine eyes has been
Nothing discerned so notable as is
The present stream, which all the little flames
Above itself extinguishes." These were
My Leader's words; whence I entreated him
To give me freely the repast for which
He freely had the craving given me.
"In mid-sea lies a barren land," he said,
"Called Crete, beneath whose king the world, of old,

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Was innocent. A mountain is therein,
Called Ida, which with waters and with leaves,
Of old, was glad; now, like a thing outworn,
'Tis desert. Rhea, in the days of old,
As a safe cradle for her little son,
Chose it, and better to conceal him, caused
Loud outcries to be made there when he wailed.
Within the mountain stands a great old man,
Erect, who keeps toward Damietta turned
His shoulders, while he gazes upon Rome,
As though it were his mirror. Of fine gold
His head is fashioned, and his arms and breast
Are of pure silver. Then far as the fork,
He is of brass, and downward thence is all
Of chosen iron, save that his right foot is
Baked clay, and upon this he stands erect
More than upon the other. Every part,
Except the gold, is by a fissure cleft,
Dripping with tears which, gathered, through that cave
A passage make. From rock to rock descends
Their course into this valley: Acheron
They form, and Styx, and Phlegethon: then down
Along this narrow channel take their way,
To where there is no more descent: they form
Cocytus; and what kind of pool that is
Thou shalt behold: so here I do not tell."
And I to him: "If thus the present rill
Down from our world is flowing, why to us
Appears it only at this edge?" And he:
"Thou knowest that the place is circular,
And though thou hast come far, continually
Descending toward the bottom to the left,
Thou hast not yet through the whole circle turned;
And therefore if aught new appear to us,

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It ought not to bring wonder to thy face."
And I again: "My Master, where are found
Lethe and Phlegethon? for of the one
Thou sayest nothing, and the other one,
Thou sayest, by this rain is made." "In sooth,
In all thy questions well thou pleasest me,"
He answered, "but the one which thou dost ask,
The boiling of the crimson stream should well
Have solved. Thou shalt see Lethe, but outside
This pit, there where to bathe themselves repair
The spirits, when their sin, repented of,
Is put away." Then said he: "Now 'tis time
To quit the wood: see that thou follow me:
The margins make a path, for they are not
On fire, and over them all flame is quenched."

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CANTO XV

They pass on along the margin of Phlegethon. The banks of the river described. They meet a company of spirits, among whom is Brunetto Latini, who recognizes Dante, and accompanies him for a time. He predicts for him misfortune at the hands of the Florentines. He names some of the most prominent persons among the shades. By the approach of another company he is forced to leave Dante, and rejoins his comrades.

Now one of the hard margins bears us on,
And overhead the brooklet's smoke a shade
Diffuses, so that from the fire it saves
The water and the banks. As 'twixt Wissant
And Bruges, the Flemings, fearful of the flood
Which toward them sweeps, to put to flight the sea
Their bulwarks build,—and as the Paduans
Along the Brenta, to defend their towns
And forts, ere Chiarentana feels the heat,—
After such fashion these were formed, although,
Whate'er it was, neither so high nor thick
The master made them. From the forest now
We were so far removed, that where it was
I could not have discerned had I turned back,
When we a troop of spirits met, that came
Along the embankment, and each looked at us,
As one is wont another one to scan
At evening, under a new moon; and they,
With puckered brows, intently peered at us,
Like an old tailor at a needle's eye.
Thus eyed by such a company, I was
By some one recognized, who seized upon
My mantle's hem, and cried: "O what a marvel!"
And I, when he stretched out his arm to me,

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Fastened my eyes on his baked countenance,
So that his blackened face did not prevent
My mind from knowing him; and bending down
My face to his, I answered: "Are you here,
Master Brunetto?" "O my son," he said:
"If Brunetto Latini turn with thee
A little back, and let his troop go on,
Let it not irk thee." I replied to him:
"With all my power I beg this thing of you;
And if you wish that I sit down with you,
I will do so, if it please that one there,
For I am going with him." "Son," he said,
"Whoever of this herd an instant stops,
Thereafter lies a hundred years, without
Fanning himself, when the fire smites on him.
Therefore move on: I at thy skirts will come,
And then I will rejoin my company,
Which goes lamenting its eternal hurt."
Down from the road I did not dare to step,
Level to go with him; but held my head
Bent down, like one who reverently walks.
And he began: "What chance or destiny
Brings thee down here before thy final day?
And who is this that shows the way to thee?"
"Up yonder, in the tranquil life above,"
I answered him, "I lost me in a vale,
Ere I had reached full age. But yestermorn
I turned my back upon it: as I was
Returning thither, he appeared to me,
And by this road is homeward leading me."
And he to me: "If thou thy star pursue,
Thou canst not fail to reach a glorious port,
If I, in the fair life, discerned aright.
And if I had not so untimely died,

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Seeing that Heaven was so kind to thee,
I would have given thee comfort in thy work.
But that malicious, thankless populace,
Which from Fiesole came forth of old,
Which smacks still of the mountain and the rock,
Will make itself thine enemy, because
Of thy well-doing: and with reason, since
It is not meet that the sweet fig bear fruit
Among tart sorbs. Old gossip in the world
Reports them blind; it is a greedy folk,
Envious and haughty. See to it that thou
Do cleanse thee from their habits. Honor such
For thee reserves thy fortune, that for thee
Both parties shall be hungry: but the grass
Shall be far from the goat. Of their own selves
Let the Fiesolan beasts a litter make,
And let them not lay hands upon the plant,
If any on their dunghill yet springs up,
In which those Romans' holy seed revives,
Who there remained when it became the nest
Of so much wickedness." "If my desire
Had wholly been fulfilled," I answered him,
"You would not yet be put in banishment
From human kind: for in my mind is fixed,
And touches now my heart your dear and good
Paternal image, when you, in the world,
Taught me from hour to hour how man becomes
Eternal: and 'tis meet that in my speech,
Long as I live, should be discerned how much
I prize it. What you tell of my career
I note, and this, to gloss with other text,
I for a lady keep, who will know how,
If I attain to her. Thus much I would
Have clear to you, that I, so chide me not

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My conscience, am for Fortune, as she wills,
Prepared. Such earnest is not to my ears
Novel: let Fortune therefore turn her wheel
At pleasure, and the churl his mattock." Then
The Master, on the side of the right cheek,
Turned back, and looked at me; and then he said:
"He listens well who marks it." None the less,
Talking with Ser Brunetto, I go on,
And ask who are his comrades most renowned
And eminent. And he to me: "'Tis good
To know of some: 'twill be commendable
About the others to keep still, because
For so much talking short would be the time.
Know thou, in fine, that all of them were clerks,
And men of letters, great and much renowned,
Defiled by one same trespass in the world.
Priscian, with yonder miserable crowd,
Pursues his way, and Francesco d'Accorso:
If thou hadst had a hankering for such scurf,
Him too thou couldst have seen, who was transferred
From Arno, by the servants' Servitor,
To Bacchiglione, where he left behind
His nerves o'erstrained by sin. I would say more,
But longer must not be my walk and talk,
Because, arising yonder from the sand,
I see fresh dust. A folk draws near with whom
I must not be. Let my Tesoro be
Commended to thee, in the which I still
Survive, and more I ask not." Thereupon
He turned him back, and seemed like one of those
Who, at Verona, run across the plain,
For the green cloth; and seemed of them to be
The one that wins, and not the losing one.

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CANTO XVI

Another group composed of military or civil officials. Jacopo Rusticucci inquires about the condition of Florence, which Dante describes. The sound of falling water indicates the approach to the descent into the eighth circle. Vergil throws the cord with which Dante is girt into the abyss. Geryon appears.

Now I was in a place where there was heard
The booming of the water, falling down
Into the next round, like the humming made
By beehives,—when three shades detached themselves
Together, running, from a passing troop,
Beneath the rain of the sharp torment. They
Came toward us, and each one was crying: "Stay!
Thou who appearest to us, by thy garb,
To be an inmate of our wicked city."
Ah me! What wounds upon their limbs I saw,
Both old and recent, by the flames burnt in!
But to remember this afflicts me still
For them. My teacher to their cry gave heed,
His face toward me turned, and said: "Now wait;
To these one should be courteous: and if
It were not for the fire, to dart the which
The nature of the place is, I would say
That thee the haste befitted more than them."
They, when they stopped, began their former strain
Again, and when they had come up to us,
All three of them made of themselves a wheel.
As were the oiled and naked champions wont,
Their grip and vantage spying out, before
They interchanged their mutual blows and thrusts,
Thus, wheeling, each directed toward me

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His visage, so that ever moved his neck
In contrary direction to his feet.
"And if," the one began, "the misery
Of this unstable place, together with
Our aspect stained and stripped, inspire contempt
For us and our entreaties, let our fame
Incline thy mind to tell us who thou art,
Who, thus secure, dost trail thy living feet
Through Hell. He in whose tracks thou seest me tread,
Although he flayed and naked goes, in rank
Was higher than thou thinkest. Grandson he
Was of the good Gualdrada; and his name
Was Guido Guerra. In his life he did
With sword and wisdom much. The other is
Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, who the sand
Behind me treads, whose fame up in the world
Should have been cherished. And I who with them
Am tortured, was Jacopo Rusticucci:
And certainly my savage wife is, more
Than aught beside, my bane." If from the fire
I had been sheltered, down I would have leaped
Among them, and my Teacher would, I think,
Have suffered it. But since I should have burned
And roasted me, my fear prevailed above
My good will, which to clasp them in my arms
Had made me greedy. "Not contempt," I then
Began, "but sorrow, your condition so
Fastened within me, that it will be long
Ere it is wholly stripped away,—as soon
As this my lord said words to me, from which
I thought that folk like you were drawing near.
I of your city am, and evermore
Have lovingly rehearsed and heard your deeds
And honored names. I leave the gall, and go

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After sweet fruits which by my truthful Guide
Are promised me; but first I must descend
As far as to the centre." "So may long
Thy soul direct thy limbs," he then replied,
"And so may thy renown shine after thee,
As thou shalt tell if courtesy and worth
Still in our city dwell, as they are wont,
Or if they wholly are gone forth from it?
For Guglielmo Borsiere, who with us
Has suffered torment for a short time past,
And yonder with our comrades goes along,
Much with his words provokes us." "The new folk,
And sudden gains, O Florence, have in thee,
Excess and pride engendered, so that thou
Thereat already weepest." Thus I cried,
With face uplifted: and the three who took
This for an answer, at each other looked,
As men do when the truth is heard. "If thou,"
They all replied, "canst, at so little cost,
At other times another satisfy,
Thou happy art, if thus as pleases thee
Thou speakest. Wherefore, if thou shalt escape
These gloomy regions, and return to see
The beauteous stars again, when thou shalt be
Rejoiced to say: 'I was,' see that thou talk
About us to the people." Then they broke
Their wheel, and as they fled, their nimble legs
Seemed wings. An Amen could not have been said
So quickly as they vanished: it appeared
Good to the Master, therefore, to depart.
I followed him, and far we had not gone,
Before so near us was the water's sound,
That, had we spoken, we had scarce been heard.
Just as that stream which is the first that holds,

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Eastward, from Monte Veso, its own course
On the left flank of Apennine, and is,
Above, called Acquacheta, ere it sinks
Into its lowly bed, and at Forlì
That name has lost,—re-echoes there above
San Benedetto of the Mount, because
It downward plunges at a single leap,
Where shelter for a thousand should have been,—
So downward from a bank precipitous,
We found that water dark, with such a din
Resounding, that it would, in little time,
Have stunned the ears. Around me girt I had
A cord; and once with this I thought to catch
The pard with spotted skin. When from myself
I wholly had unloosed it, as my Guide
Had bidden me, I handed it to him,
Gathered and coiled. Thereat he turned himself
To the right side, and some way from the edge
He threw it down into that deep abyss.
"And surely something new," within myself
I said, "must to this novel sign respond,
Which with his eye my Master follows thus!"
Ah, how much caution men should use, when near
To those who not alone the act behold,
But by their wisdom look within the thought!
He said to me: "What I am waiting for
Will soon come up, and that of which thy thought
Is dreaming, quickly to thy sight must be
Discovered." Always, to that truth which wears
The guise of falsehood, one should close his lips,
As far as possible, because it brings
Shame without fault; but here I cannot be
Silent concerning this: and by the strains
Of this my Comedy, I swear to thee,

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Reader,—so may they not be destitute
Of lasting approbation,—that a shape,
Fearful to every heart, however bold,
I saw come swimming upward, as when he
Who down at times to clear an anchor goes,
Fouled with a rock, or other thing concealed
Within the sea,—returns, and stretches forth
Himself above, and draws him up beneath.

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CANTO XVII

Geryon's appearance described. Vergil confers with him. Dante meanwhile turns aside to visit the Usurers who are sitting near the mouth of the pit. Returning, he finds Vergil seated upon Geryon's back, and mounts in front of him. Geryon descends, and deposits the two poets at the bottom of the shaft.

"Behold the monster with the pointed tail,
That passes mountains, walls and weapons breaks;
See him that all the world with stench pollutes."
My Leader thus began to speak to me,
And to the brink he beckoned him to come,
Near where the marble causeway we had trod
Came to an end: and that foul effigy
Of fraud came on, and brought his head and bust
Ashore, but on the bank drew not his tail.
His face the face was of a righteous man;
So kind a semblance outwardly it wore,
And all his trunk a serpent's was. He had
Two arms, up to the armpits clothed with hair:
He had his back, and breast, and both his sides
With knots embellished and with little shields.
Never did Turks or Tartars make a cloth
With colors more, o'ershot or underlaid,
Nor on the loom were by Arachne laid
Such webs. As sometimes lie upon the shore
The wherries, part in water, part on land,
And as, among the gorging Germans yonder,
The beaver plants himself to wage his war,
So, on the rim of stone which closes in
The sand, that vilest monster lay. His tail
All in the void was quivering, as it writhed

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Upward the venomed fork which armed the point,
In fashion of a scorpion. My Guide
Said: "Now our path a little must diverge,
As far as to that evil beast which there
Is couching." Therefore on the right we went
Downward, and walked ten paces on the verge,
That we might wholly shun the sand and flame:
And when, a little farther on, we came
To him, I saw, sitting upon the sand,
Some people near the precipice. To me
Here said the Master: "That thou mayst with thee
Bear away full experience of this round,
Go, see their state; and there let thy discourse
Be brief: till thou return, I with this beast
Will speak, that he may yield his shoulders strong
To us." Thus all alone, once more I went
Along that seventh circle's outmost ridge,
To where the melancholy people sat.
Their sorrow through their eyes was bursting forth:
They with their hands, on this side and on that,
Themselves defended, now against the flames,
Now from the burning soil. Not otherwise,
In summer, do the dogs, with muzzle now,
And now with paws, when they are stung by fleas,
Or flies or gadflies. When I set my eyes
Upon the face of certain ones on whom
The grievous fire is falling, none of them
I knew, but I perceived that from the neck
Of each there hung a pouch of certain hue,
And certain blazon: and with these, it seems,
Their eye is fed. And as I, scanning them,
Among them came, upon a yellow purse
I azure saw, which of a lion had
The face and bearing. Then, as onward went

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The movement of my look, I saw of them
Another, red as blood, display a goose,
Whiter than butter. And to me said one
Who with a blue and pregnant sow had marked
His wallet white, "What dost thou in this ditch?
Now get thee gone: and since thou livest still,
Know that upon my left side here shall sit
My fellow-citizen, Vitalian.
A Paduan I among these Florentines.
Ofttimes my ears they deafen, thundering:
'Let come the knight supreme who here shall bring
The pouch with the three beaks!' " He twisted here
His mouth, and thrust his tongue out, like an ox
That licks his nose. And fearing longer stay
Might worry him who had admonished me
To tarry briefly, from the weary souls
I turned me back again. I found my Guide,
Who had already mounted on the rump
Of the fierce animal: and he to me
Said: "Now be strong and bold. By stair like this
Henceforward we descend. Mount thou in front,
For I would be between, that so the tail
May have no power to harm." As he who has
So near at hand the quartan shivering-fit,
That livid now his nails are, and his frame
Trembles all over when he only looks
Upon a shady place, such I became,
At utterance of these words; but shame in me
His admonitions wrought, the shame which makes
A servant brave before a worthy lord.
Upon those shoulders huge I took my seat:
I would have said, but that my voice came not
As I believed it would, "Be sure that thou
Embrace me." But he who, at other times,

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Had come in other hazard, to my aid,
Soon as I mounted clasped me with his arms,
And held me up, and said: "Now Geryon, go!
Large let thy circles be, and thy descent
Be slow: think of the novel load thou hast!"
As from its berth the little craft moves out,
Backward, still backward, so he drew away;
And when quite free he felt himself, he turned
His tail to where his breast had been, and this,
Outstretched, moved like an eel, and drew the air
Toward him with his arms. I do not think
That there was greater fear when Phaethon
Let go the reins, whereby, as still appears,
The heaven was scorched: nor when poor Icarus
Perceived his loins made by the melted wax
All bare of feathers, while his father cried:
"Thou holdest a bad course!"—than was my fear,
When I perceived myself on every side
Encompassed by the air, and every sight,
Save of the monster, vanished. On he goes,
Slowly, still slowly swimming, wheels, descends:
But I perceive it not, save that the wind
Blows on my face, and from below. I heard,
Already, on the right, beneath us make
The gulf a hideous booming; whereupon,
With eyes cast downward, I thrust out my head.
Then at the precipice I more was scared:
For I saw fires, and lamentations heard:
Whereat I, trembling, wholly drew myself
Together. And I then discerned, for I
Had not before perceived it, the descent
And circling, by the dreadful ills which were
Near to us drawing upon different sides.
As falcon which has long been on the wing,

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Which, without sight of lure or bird, constrains
The falconer to say: "Ah me! thou stoopest!"
With hundred wheelings, to the place from which
It started swiftly, wearily descends,
And from its master far away alights,
Haughty and sullen,—thus did Geryon set
Us at the bottom, at the very foot
Of the sheer rock; and, from our persons freed,
He vanished, like an arrow from the string.

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CANTO XVIII

The eighth circle. Malebolge described. In the first trench are seen Panders and Seducers scourged by demons. Venedico Caccianimico. Jason. The second trench, where the Flatterers are seen immersed in filth.

There is a place in Hell called Malebolge,
Wholly of stone, and of an iron hue,
As is the circling wall which round it winds.
Right in the middle of the noisome plain
There yawns a pit, exceeding wide and deep,
Whereof the structure, in its proper place,
I will describe. The belt, then, which between
The pit and foot of the high, stony bank
Remains, is round, and has its bed divided
Into ten valleys. Figure such as, where,
The ramparts to defend, successive moats
The castles gird, the region where they are
Presents,—such image those presented here:
And as in such strongholds small bridges are
Thrown from their entrance to the outmost bank,
So crags, out from the bottom of the cliff
Shot, which the dikes and trenches cut across,
Down to the pit which truncates and collects them.
In this place, shaken off from Geryon's back,
We found ourselves, and to the left the Bard
Held on, and I went after him. I saw,
On the right hand, a novel form of woe;
New torments, and new scourges, with the which
The first trench was all filled. All naked were
The sinners at the bottom: on our side
The middle, they were coming with their face

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Toward us: and upon the other side,
Along with us, but with a longer stride:
Just as the Romans have devised a plan,
Because of the vast concourse in the year
Of Jubilee, across the bridge to pass
The people, so that, on the one side, all
Face toward the Castle, and are moving on
Toward Saint Peter's; on the other edge,
They go toward the Mount. On either side
I saw horned fiends along the dingy stone,
With monstrous whips, who fiercely from behind
Were lashing them. Ah how, with the first blows,
They made them lift their shanks! No one, be sure,
Stopped for the second or the third. While I
Was going on, my eyes encountered one;
And straightway thus I said: "For sight of him
I have not fasted heretofore." I stayed,
Therefore, my feet, that I might make him out:
And my dear Leader stopped along with me,
And gave me leave to go a little back:
And that whipped one supposed he could conceal
Himself by bending down his face, but that
Availed him little: for I said to him:
"Thou who dost cast thine eye upon the ground,
If are not false the features thou dost wear,
Thou art Venedico Caccianimico;
But what doth bring thee to such stinging Salse?"
And he to me: "To tell it I am loath;
But thy clear speech which makes me recollect
The former world, compels me. I was he
Who did Ghisolabella bring to do
The Marquis's will, however may be told
The shameful story. And of Bolognese
I am not here the only one who mourns:

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Nay, rather is this place so full of them,
That not so many tongues are taught to say
Sipa, 'twixt Reno and Savena now:
And if thou wantest pledge or proof of this,
Our avaricious spirit call to mind."
While thus he spoke, a demon with his whip
Smote him, and said: "Be off, thou pimp! There are
No women here to let." I joined again
My escort: then with a few steps we came
To where a crag projected from the bank.
Right easily we mounted that, and turned
Toward the right, along its splintered mass
We from those endless circlings went away.
When we were where it opens underneath,
To give a passage to the scourged, my Guide
Said: "Wait, and of these others born to ill,
The face of whom thou hast not yet beheld,
Allow the sight to strike on thee, for they
Have gone along with us." From the old bridge
We scanned the file which on the other side
Was coming toward us, in like fashion driven
Before the scourge. The worthy Master said,
Unasked, to me: "Behold that stately shade
Approaching, who appears, for all his pain,
To shed no tear. What regal aspect still
He keeps! That one is Jason, who by craft
And courage robbed the Colchians of the ram.
He passed by Lemnos' island, after that
The women bold and pitiless had given
All of their males to death; and with fine words
And tokens, there seduced Hypsipyle,
The little maiden who had all the rest
Already cheated. Pregnant and forlorn
He left her there: such guilt to torment such

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Condemns him; and Medea is avenged
Besides. With him go all who in such wise
Delude: and let this be enough to know
Of the first valley and of those it holds
Within its fangs." Already we had come
To where the narrow pathway intersects
The second dike, and for another arch
A buttress makes of that. From here we heard
Folk who are in the next trench whimpering,
And with their muzzle snort, and with their palms
Belabor them. The banks are with a mould
Incrusted, by the vapor from below
Which sticks thereon, and with the eyes and nose
Did battle. Hollowed out the bottom is,
So that no place suffices us to see,
Without our mounting to the arch's back,
Where highest is the crag. To this we came,
And in the pit below, from there I saw
People immersed in ordure, which appeared
To be from human privies brought: and while
I with my eye was searching there below,
I saw one with his head so foul with dung,
That it was not apparent whether he
Were clerk or layman. He, reproachfully,
Bawled out to me: "Why art thou greedy more
To look at me than at the other ones
Befouled?" And I to him: "Because, ere now,
If rightly I remember, I have seen
Thee with dry hair, and thou of Lucca art,
Alessio Interminei: therefore more
Than all the rest I eye thee. And he then,
Beating his pate: "The flatteries wherewith
My tongue was never cloyed have plunged me here
Below." Thereafter said to me my Guide:

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"See that a little thou advance thy look,
So that thou with thine eyes mayst fully reach
The face of that unclean, dishevelled drab,
Who yonder with her filthy nails doth score
Herself, and who is squatting now, and now
Standing upon her feet. The harlot she,
Thais, who to her lover, when he said:
'Have I much thanks from thee?' 'Nay, marvellous!'
Replied. And for our sight let this suffice."

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CANTO XIX

The third trench, where the Simoniacs are punished. Vergil conveys Dante to the bottom of the trench in order that he may converse with a spirit who is writhing under severe torture, and who proves to be Pope Nicholas III. Dante denounces to him the rapacity of the clergy.

O Simon Magus! O ye followers,
Wretched, because ye, greedily, for gold
And silver, prostitute the things of God,
Which ought to be the brides of righteousness;
Now it is meet the trumpet sound for you,
Because in the third trench you have your place.
To the next tomb we had already climbed,
On that part of the crag which overhangs
The very middle of the trench. How great,
Wisdom supreme, the art thou dost display,
In Heaven, on earth, and in the evil world!
And how great justice does thy power dispense!
Along the bottom and along the sides,
I saw the livid rock all full of holes,
All of one size, and each was circular.
Not less in measure nor more great they seemed
To me, than those which in my fair Saint John,
Are for the stand of the baptizers made;
And one of which, not many years ago,
I broke, to save one who was stifling there:
And let this be a warrant, every man
To undeceive. Forth from the mouth of each
A sinner's feet protruded, and the legs,
Up to the calf, and inside was the rest.
On fire were both the soles of all of them;

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Wherefore the joints so violently twitched,
That twisted withes or ropes they would have snapped.
Just as the flaming of oiled things is wont
To play upon the outer surface only,
So was it here from heels to toes. I said:
"My Master, who is that who is enraged
More than the others who consort with him,
And whom a redder flame is sucking?" He
Replied to me: "If thou desirest me
Down there to take thee by that lower bank,
Thou of himself and of his wrongs shalt learn
From him." And I: "Whatever pleases thee
To me is pleasing: thou art lord, and know'st
That I depart not from thy will; and thou
Knowest beside that which is left unsaid."
We came upon the fourth embankment then;
We turned, and to the bottom, pierced with holes
And narrow, we went down upon the left.
And the good Master did not set me down
As yet from off his haunch, until he brought me
Down to the cleft of him who with his shanks
Was thus lamenting. I began to speak:
"O whosoe'er thou art who, upside down,
Implanted like a stake, unhappy soul,
Dost hold thyself, if thou art able, speak."
I there was standing, like a friar that shrives
The treacherous assassin, who, when fixed
For execution, calls him back again,
Because he thus his death delays: and he
Cried out: "Art thou already standing there,
O Boniface? Already standing there?
By several years the writing lied to me.
Art thou so quickly sated with that wealth
For which thou didst not fear to carry off

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By fraud the lady fair, and afterward,
To do her outrage?" I became as those
Who are as if bemocked, because they fail
To understand what is replied to them,
And know not how to answer. Vergil then
Said: "Tell him instantly: 'I am not he,
I am not he thou thinkest:'" I replied
As I was bidden. Whereupon his feet
The spirit writhed all over: then to me,
Sighing, he said, and with a tearful voice:
"What dost thou ask of me? If to know who
I am, so much concerns thee that for this
Thou hast come down the bank, know thou that I
Was robed with the great mantle, and I was,
In very truth, a son of the She-Bear,
So eager to advance the whelps, that wealth,
Above, I pocketed, and here myself.
Beneath my head the others are dragged down,
Flattened within the fissures of the rock,
Who have preceded me in simony.
I there in turn will fall, when he shall come
For whom, when I the sudden question put,
I took thee. But already is the time
That I have baked my feet, and thus have been
Head downward,—longer than, with reddened feet,
He shall be fixed: for after him shall come
A lawless shepherd, from the west, in deed
More foul, such as is meet should cover up
Both him and me. New Jason shall he be,
Concerning whom we read in Maccabees:
And as his king indulgent was to him,
So to this one he who in France doth rule
Shall be." I know not if I was too dull,
That only in this strain I answered him:

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"Now tell me pray how much the treasure was
Which of Saint Peter did our Lord demand,
Before he in his keeping placed the keys?
Surely he nothing asked but, 'Follow me.'
Nor of Matthias, Peter or the rest
Took gold or silver, when he for the place
Was chosen which the guilty soul had lost.
Therefore stay here! for thou dost well deserve
Thy punishment; and see thou carefully
Keep the ill-gotten money which inspired
Thy boldness against Charles. And were it not
That still forbids me reverence for the keys
Supreme, which thou in the glad life didst hold,
I would use still severer words; because
Your avarice afflicts the world, the good
Down trampling, and the wicked lifting up.
The Evangelist descried you shepherds, when
She who upon the waters sits, by him
Was seen with kings to play the harlot: she
Who with the seven heads was born, and had
From the ten horns her warrant, for so long
As virtue pleased her spouse. A god of gold
And silver ye have made you: and what is
The difference 'twixt idolaters and you,
Save that they worship one, and you five-score?
Ah Constantine, to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but the wedding-gift
Which from thy hand the first rich Father took!"
And while I chanted notes like these to him,
Whether by wrath or conscience he was stung,
With both his feet he furiously kicked.
I truly think my Guide was gratified:
For all the while, with such contented face,
He to the sound of the true words I spake

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Attended. Therefore, he, with both his arms,
Took me, and when he had me on his breast
Completely, by the path where he came down,
Remounted; nor because he had me pressed
To him so closely, did he tire, until
He bore me to the summit of the arch,
Which from the fourth embankment to the fifth
Affords a passage. Here he gently set
The burden down; gently, because the crag
Was steep and rugged; for it would have been
A passage difficult for goats. From here
Another valley was disclosed to me.

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CANTO XX

The fourth Bolgia, in which the Necromancers are punished. Tiresias and his daughter Manto. Vergil relates the legend of the foundation of Mantua. Eurypylus, Michael Scott, and others are pointed out.

'Tis fitting that about new punishment
I verses make, and for the twentieth strain
Of the first cantica, which treats of those
Immersed in Hell, provide material.
I was completely in position now
To look into the depth disclosed, which was
With tears of anguish bathed: and I beheld
Through the round valley people coming on,
With weeping and in silence, at the pace
Which in the world the prayer-processions take.
As lower down my sight among them ranged,
Each one appeared distorted wondrously,
Between the chin and where the chest began:
For back toward the loins the face was turned,
And backward they must needs advance, because
They were deprived of power to look before.
Perhaps, by force of palsy, one, ere now,
Has right about been twisted thus, but I
Have never seen it, and do not believe
That so it is. As God may let thee pluck,
O reader, fruit from what thou readest here,
Now for thyself imagine how I could
Keep dry my face, when close at hand I saw
Our image so contorted, that the tears,
As from their eyes they flowed, the hinder parts
Did bathe along the cleft. In truth I wept,

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Against a fragment of the stubborn crag
Leaning, so that my Escort said to me:
"Art thou still numbered with the other fools?
Here piety doth live when wholly dead
Is pity. Who more impious is than he
Who on God's judgment passion brings to bear?
Lift, lift thy head, and see that one for whom
Opened the earth before the Thebans' eyes,
Whereat all shouted: 'Whither in such haste,
Amphiaraus? Wherefore leavest thou
The war?' And he ceased not from falling down,
Far as to Minos, who on every one
Lays hold. Behold how of his shoulders he
Has made a breast: because he wished to see
Too far in front of him, he looks behind,
And goes a backward road. Tiresias see,
Who semblance changed when he from male became
Female, when all his members were transformed;
And afterward he needs must strike again
The two entwisted serpents with his rod,
Before he could regain his manly plumes.
He who to this one's belly turns his back,
Aruns is, who, on Luni's hills, where grubs
The Carrarese who dwells below, the cave
Had for his dwelling mid the marbles white,
Whence, for the survey of the stars and sea,
His view was not cut off. And that one there,
Who covers with her loosened locks her breasts
Unseen by thee, and all the hairy skin
Has on that side, is Manto, who made search
Through many lands, and after, settled there
Where I was born; whereof it pleases me
That thou a little hear me. When her sire
Had passed from life, and into servitude

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Had fallen Bacchus's city, long she roamed
Over the world. Up in fair Italy
There lies a lake, Benaco is its name,
Washing the bases of the Alps which bound
The land of Germany above Tyrol.
I think that through a thousand founts and more,
Pennino, by the streams which settle down
In the aforesaid lake, is bathed between
Garda and Val Camonica. There is
A place there, midway, where, if he should pass
That way, the Trentine Pastor, and Verona's,
And Brescia's might dispense the holy sign.
Peschiera, goodly garrison and strong
To front the Brescians and the Bergamasques,
Sits where falls lowest the surrounding shore.
There it must needs that all that cannot stay
Within Benaco's lap, together fall,
And it becomes a river, as it flows
Down through green pastures. Soon as starts to flow
The water, Mincio it is called; no more
Benaco, far as to Governo, where
It falls into the Po. Not far it runs,
Before it finds a plain, on which it spreads,
And turns it to a marsh; and now and then,
In Summer it is wont to be unwholesome.
Passing that way, the cruel virgin saw
Land in the middle of the fen, untilled,
And uninhabited. There, to avoid
All human fellowship, she with her slaves
Abode, to ply her arts, and lived, and there
She left her body vacant. Afterward,
The men who round were scattered gathered them
Together to that place, for it was strong,
By reason of the fen which on all sides

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It had. Above those lifeless bones they built
Their city; and for her who first did choose
The place, without another augury,
They called it Mantua. Within it once
Its folk were thicker, ere the foolishness
Of Casalodi had experienced fraud
From Pinamonte. Hence I caution thee
That if thou ever hear that otherwise
My city had its origin, thou let
No lie pervert the truth." And I replied:
"Master, thy expositions are to me
So certain, and so on my faith lay hold,
That like spent coals would seem what others say.
But tell me of the people going past,
If thou beholdest any one of them
Worthy of note; because my mind reverts
To that alone." Then he replied to me:
"An augur that one was who from his cheek
O'er his swart shoulders pushes forth his beard,
What time Greece was so destitute of males,
That scarcely for the cradles they remained;
And he with Calchas named the moment when
In Aulis the first cable should be cut.
He bore the name Eurypylus, and thus
About him, in a certain passage, sings
My lofty tragedy: thou knowest that
Full well, for thou dost know the whole of it.
That other one, so slender in the flanks,
Was Michael Scott, who knew, in truth, the game
Of magic cheats. Guido Bonatti see;
Behold Asdente, he who now would wish
That to his leather and his thread he had
Given attention, but repents too late.
Behold the wretched women who forsook

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Needle, and spool, and spindle, and became
Diviners; they, with herbs and effigy,
Enchantments wrought. But now come on, because
Cain and the thorns already holds the bound
Of both the hemispheres, and in the wave
Beyond Seville is dipping, and the moon
Was round already on the yesternight.
And thou shouldst well remember it, because
No harm she did thee at a certain time,
Within the forest deep." Thus did he speak
To me, and on our way we went the while.

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CANTO XXI

They pass to the highest point of the bridge over the fifth Bolgia, where are the Barrators, immersed in a lake of boiling pitch. A black devil is seen coming over the bridge with a sinner on his shoulders, whom he throws into the pitch. Vergil appeases the fiends who emerge from under the bridge and threaten him, and who finally furnish the two poets with an escort.

Thus on from bridge to bridge, with other talk,
Whereof my Comedy cares not to sing,
We went, and held the summit, when we paused
To see another cleft of Malebolge,
And hear the vain laments which followed next;
And I perceived that it was wondrous dark.
As, in the winter, in the arsenal
Of the Venetians, boils the sticky pitch,
To pay their crazy craft again, because
They cannot sail, and one, instead of that,
Rebuilds his ship, another one recaulks
The sides of that which many a cruise has made;
One hammers at the bow, and one astern;
And one makes oars, another cordage twists;
One patches up the main- and mizzen-sail:
So, not by fire, but by the craft divine,
Down there was boiling a thick pitch, which limed
The bank on every side. This I perceived,
But in it nothing but the bubbles saw
Raised by the boiling, while the whole swelled up,
And settled down again compressed. While I,
With gaze intent, was looking down on this,
My Leader said: "Look! look!" and from the place
Where I was standing, drew me to himself.

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At that I turned me, as a man in haste
To get a sight of what he ought to flee,
And whom a sudden fear unnerves; and he,
For looking, does not stay his going off:
And a black devil I behind us saw
Come running up along the crag. Alas,
How savage was his aspect! In his mien
How cruel he appeared to me, with wings
Outspread, and light of foot! His shoulder, high
And sharp, a sinner with his haunches both
Encumbered, and the sinew of the feet
He held fast clutched. "O Malebranche, here
Is one of Santa Zita's elders!" he
From off our bridge exclaimed. "Under with him!
For I for others still am going back
To yonder city which I have well stocked
With them: for every one within it is
A barrator, except Bonturo: there,
By means of money, 'yes' is made of 'no.'"
Down there he flung him, and he backward turned
Along the flinty crag, and mastiff loosed
Was never in such haste to chase the thief.
The other plunged beneath, and, doubled up,
Rose to the surface; but the fiends who were
Under the cover of the bridge, cried out:
"The holy countenance has here no place;
Swimming is practised here in other wise
Than in the Serchio; therefore, if our hooks
Thou wouldst not feel, do not uplift thyself
Above the pitch." Then with a hundred prongs
And more they gripped him. "Under cover here,"
They said, "thou needs must dance, so that thou mayst
In secret do thy pilfering, if thou canst."
Not otherwise the cooks their scullions make

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Midway into the cauldron, with their hooks,
Push down the meat, so that it may not float.
Said the good Master: "That it be not seen
That thou art here, squat down behind a jag,
Which may some screen afford thee; nor be thou
Afraid, whatever outrage may be done
To me, for I have knowledge of these things,
Since once before I was in such a fray."
Then he passed on beyond the bridge's head,
And there was need that he a fearless front
Should wear, when he arrived on the sixth bank.
With rage and clamor such as when the dogs
Rush out on a poor man, who, where he stops,
Forthwith begins to beg, they issued forth
From underneath the bridge, and all their gaffs
Turned against him; but loudly he called out:
"Let none of you be vicious. Ere your hooks
Lay hold of me, come forward, one of you,
To hear me, and take counsel afterward
About your grappling me." They shouted all:
"Let Malacoda go;" whereat one moved,
While quiet were the rest, and came to him,
Saying: "How does it help him?" "Dost thou think
Thou seest me, Malacoda, hither come,
Safe hitherto from all your hindrances,"
My Master said, "without divine behest,
And fate propitious? Let me go my way,
For it is willed in Heaven that I show
Another this wild road." His arrogance
Was then so bated that he let his hook
Drop at his feet, and to the others said:
"Now let him not be struck." And said to me
My Guide: "O thou who midst the bridge's jags
All squatted down art sitting, now return

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Safely to me." Whereat I moved, and came
With haste to him; and all the devils pressed
Toward the front, so that I was afraid
They would not keep their pact. And thus I saw,
Once on a time, the infantry afraid,
Who under treaty from Caprona marched,
Seeing themselves among so many foes.
Close to my Leader's side, with all my frame,
I drew, and from their look, which was not good,
Turned not my eyes. They downward turned their gaffs,
One to the other saying: "Wouldst thou like
To have me touch him on the rump?" And they
Were answering: "Aye! See that thou give it him."
But in an instant turned himself about
That demon who was talking with my Guide,
And said: "Be quiet, quiet, Scarmiglione!"
Then said to us: "Farther along this crag
It is not possible to go, because
All broken into pieces the sixth arch
Is at the bottom lying: and if still
It please you to go farther, hold your way
Along this ridge; there is another crag
Close by, which forms a passage. Yesterday,
Five hours after the present hour, made up
Twelve hundred threescore and six years, since here
The way was broken. I am going to send
Some of this gang of mine that way, to see
If any puts himself outside to air:
Go on with them, for they will not be wicked.
Step forward, Alichino," he began,
"And Calcabrina, and Cagnazzo thou;
And Barbariccia,—let him lead the ten.
Let Libicocco also come along,
And Draghinazzo, and tusked Ciriatto;

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Graffiacane, Farfarello too,
And furious Rubicante. Search about
The boiling birdlime: far as the next crag,
Which all unbroken goes across the dens,
Let these be safe." "Ah me! my Master, what,"
Said I, "is that I see? Pray let us go
Alone, without an escort, if the way
Thou know'st, for for myself I crave it not.
If thou as wary art as is thy wont,
Dost thou not see how they do grind their teeth,
And threaten mischief to us with their brows?"
And he to me: "I would not have thee fear:
Let them grind on, e'en to their hearts' content,
For at the wretched stews they do it." They
Wheeled by the left embankment; but at first,
Each of them with his teeth his tongue had pressed,
By way of signal toward their guide, and he
Had made a trumpet of his hinder part.

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CANTO XXII

Dante comments upon the unique signal for the advance of the party. A barrator emerges from the pitch, and is caught and dragged up by one of the fiends. He informs Vergil who he is, and who are some of his companions. The fiends offer him a chance to dive back into the pitch. By a sudden leap he escapes their hooks. Angry at their disappointment, two of the devils grapple each other on the wing, and fall together into the pitch, from which they are extricated by their fellows.

I have, ere now, seen horsemen shift their camp,
And the attack commence, and their array
Draw up, and sometimes, for their safety's sake,
Retire: I have seen scouts, O Aretines,
Scouring your land, and bands of foragers
Seen moving, tourneys fought, and tiltings run,
With trumpets now, and now with bells, with drums,
And castle-signals, and with native things
And foreign; but I never with a pipe
So strange saw cavalry or footmen move,
Or vessel, at a signal from the land
Or sight of star. With the ten demons we
Were going on: ah, savage company!
But, with the saints at church, and with the rakes
At tavern. On the pitch alone my looks
Were fixed, to see each feature of the pit,
And of the people burning there within.
As dolphins, when, with arching of their back,
They make a sign to sailors to give heed
To save their vessel, so, from time to time,
To ease his pain some sinner showed his back,
And hid it quicker than a lightning-flash.

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And as the frogs, with only muzzles out,
Stand on the edge of water of a ditch,
With feet and all their other bulk concealed,
So were the sinners upon every side:
But soon as Barbariccia near them came,
Beneath the boiling they withdrew. I saw,
And still at this a shudder thrills my heart,
One lingering in such wise as happens when
One frog remains, and off the other leaps.
And Graffiacane who more nearly was
Over against him, hooked his pitch-smeared locks,
And hauled him up, so that he seemed to me
An otter. I, by this time, knew the name
Of each and every one, I marked them so,
When they were chosen; and when they addressed
Each other, listened how. "See that thou set
Thy claws, O Rubicante, on his back
So that thou flay him!" all the cursed crew
Together yelled. And I: "If possible,
Contrive, my Master, to find out who is
The ill-starred one who into his foes' hands
Has come." Close to his side my Leader drew,
And asked him whence he was, and he replied:
"I was born in the kingdom of Navarre.
My mother placed me servant to a lord,
For she had borne me to a knave, who had
Made way with both his substance and himself.
Thereafter, of the good king Theobald
I was a household servant; there I set
Myself to practise barratry, for which
Here in this heat I render reckoning:"
And Ciriatto, from whose mouth a tusk
On either side protruded, like a boar's,
Made him to feel how one of these did rip.

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Among malicious cats the mouse had come;
But Barbariccia clasped him in his arms,
And said: "While I am hugging him, keep off!"
And he toward my Master turned his face:
And "Ask," he said, "if thou dost wish to learn
Some more from him, before some other one
Shall mangle him." My Leader then: "Now tell
About the other sinners: dost thou know
Any one underneath the pitch who is
Italian?" And he said: "Not long ago,
From one I parted who was, over there,
A neighbor. Would I still were covered thus
With him, for claw or hook I should not fear."
And Libicocco said: "We have endured
Too much": and with the hook he seized his arm,
So that of this he, rending, carried off
A sinew. Draghinazzo too desired
Down on the legs to gripe him; whereupon,
With lowering aspect, their decurion
Turned himself round and round. When they somewhat
Were pacified, my Guide, without delay,
Of him who still was gazing at his wound
Asked: "Who was that from whom, in evil hour
Thou sayest, thou didst part to come to shore?"
And he replied: "It was Friar Gomita,
He of Gallura, vessel of all fraud,
Who had in hand his master's enemies,
And so did deal with them that each affirmed
Himself content therewith: he took their gold,
And without process let them, as he says,
Slip off: and in his other offices
Besides, he was no petty barrator,
But was a prince. Don Michel Zanche, he
Of Logodoro, companies with him:

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And their tongues feel no weariness, while they
Are talking of Sardinia. See, ah me!
The other who his teeth is grinding! more
I would be saying, but I fear that he
Is making ready to my itch to give
A scratching." And the grand commandant turned
To Farfarello, who, in act to strike,
Was rolling round his eyes, and said: "Vile bird,
Stand off there!" "If ye wish to see or hear,
Tuscans or Lombards," then began again
The frightened wretch, "I will cause some of them
To come. But let the Malebranche stand
Aside a little, that these may not fear
Their vengeful acts; and I, while still I sit
In this same place, for one that I am, will
Make seven of them come when I shall whistle,
As is our wont to do whenever one
Comes out." Cagnazzo lifted at such words
His muzzle, shook his head, and said: "Just hear
The cunning trick he has devised, to throw
Himself beneath!" He thereupon, who had
A wealth of stratagems, replied: "I am
Too cunning, when I for my friends procure
Greater distress." No longer Alichin
Held in, but gainsaying the others, said
To him: "I will not, if thou throw thee down,
Follow thee on the run, but I will ply
My wings above the pitch: leave we the ridge,
And be the bank a screen, that we may see
If thou alone dost count for more than we."
A new sport, reader, thou shalt hear! Each one
Turned toward the other side his eyes; he first
Who had been most reluctant to do this.
The Navarrese chose well his time; he set

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His feet upon the ground, and in a trice
He leaped, and freed himself from their design.
Thereat each one was by his error stung,
But most he who was cause of the default;
Wherefore he started, crying: "Thou art caught!"
But little it availed him, for the wings
Could not outstrip the terror: under went
The one, and upward, as he flew, his breast
The other turned: not otherwise the duck
Dives down upon a sudden, when the hawk
Approaches, and he upward comes again,
Angry and baffled. At the jest enraged,
Flying, behind him Calcabrina kept,
Desirous that the other should escape,
That he might have his tussle. And the instant
The barrator was out of sight, he turned
His claws upon his mate, and was with him
Above the trench at grapple. But indeed
The other was a sparrowhawk full grown
To claw him well, and both of them dropped down
Into the middle of the boiling pool.
The heat unclutched their grapple suddenly:
But yet to raise themselves there was no way,
In such a fashion were their wings bedaubed.
Doleful with the remainder of his troop,
Four of them Barbariccia caused to fly
Toward the other side, with all their gaffs,
And very quickly they, on either side,
Descended to their posts: their hooks they stretched
Toward those belimed, within the crusting cooked
Already: and we left them thus ensnarled.

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CANTO XXIII

The poets go on alone. Dante is convinced that the demons will pursue them, and communicates his fear to Vergil. The devils are seen coming. Vergil takes Dante in his arms, and slides down the embankment into the sixth trench, where the Hypocrites are punished. Catalano, Loderingo, Caiaphas. They reach the next bridge and find this also broken, and perceive that Malacoda has deceived them.

Silent, alone, and unattended, we,
The one in front, the other following,
Were going on as Minor Friars go
Along a road. My thought was, by the brawl
Present just now, to Æsop's fable turned,
In which he spoke about the frog and mouse:
For "now" resembles not "this instant" more
Than does the one the other, if the end
And the beginning be correctly linked,
With mind attentive: and as from one thought
Another bursts, so from that one was born
Another then, which doubled my first fear.
After this fashion I was thinking: "These
Have, by our means, been made a laughing-stock,
With hurt and gibing such, that I believe
It much annoys them. If to their ill-will
Anger is added, they will follow us,
More cruel than the hound upon that hare
On which he seizes." With the fear I felt
My hairs already standing all on end,
And I was closely on our rear intent,
When I said: "Master, if thou hidest not,
Quickly, thyself and me, I am afraid

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Of Malebranche: they are after us
Already: I do so imagine them,
That even now I feel them." And he said:
"Were I of leaded glass, I should not draw
More quickly to myself thine outward form,
Than I thine inward semblance apprehend.
Among my thoughts thine entered but just now,
Alike in act and look, so that I made
Of both one sole resolve. If so it be
That on our right the slope so lies that we
Can into the next pit descend, we shall
Escape the fancied chase." He had not yet
Finished imparting his resolve, when I
Beheld them coming on, with wings outstretched,
Not far away, with will to seize on us.
My Leader suddenly laid hold on me,
As does a mother, by the noise awaked,
Who near to her beholds the kindled flames,
And grasps her son and flies, and caring more
For him than for herself, stays not so long
As only to put on a single shift:
And downward from the ridge of the hard bank,
He gave him to the sloping rock which bars
One side of the next pit. Ne'er water ran
So swiftly through a sluice, to turn the wheel
Of a land-mill when it draws near the paddles,
As o'er that rim my Master, on his breast
Bearing me off, as though I were his son,
And not his comrade. Scarce his feet had reached
The bottom of the depth below, when they
Were on the ridge right over us: but there
There was no fear; for the high Providence
Whose will it is to make them ministers
Of the fifth trench, deprives them all of power

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To go away from it. Down there we found
A painted people, who were going round
With steps exceeding slow, and shedding tears,
And in appearance weary and subdued.
Cloaks, with the hoods low down before their eyes,
They wore, of cut like that which, in Cologne,
Is fashioned for the monks. Outside they are
So gilded that it dazzles; but within
Are all of lead, and are so ponderous,
That those by Frederick put on were straw.
O mantle wearisome forevermore!
Still ever to the left along with them
We turned, intent upon their sad lament:
But that tired folk, by reason of the weight,
Came on so slowly that our company
Was new at every movement of the hip.
Wherefore I to my Guide: "See that thou find
Some one who may be known by deed or name,
And while we thus are walking, move about
Thine eyes." And one who heard the Tuscan speech,
Cried after us: "Ye who at such a pace
Are speeding through the murky air, restrain
Your feet: perhaps thou wilt obtain from me
That which thou seekest." Whereupon the Guide
Turned, saying: "Wait, and afterward proceed
According to his pace." I stopped, and saw,
Two, showing in their look great haste of mind
To be with me; but them their burden stayed,
And the thronged road. After they had come up,
For a long time, with eye askant, they looked
At me, and uttered not single word:
Then, turning to each other, they remarked,
Between them: "By the movement of his throat,
This one seems living: and if they are dead,

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By what exemption, with the heavy stole
Uncovered, do they go?" Then they to me:
"O Tuscan, who art to the college come
Of the sad hypocrites, do not disdain
To tell us who thou art." And I to them:
"In the great city on the lovely stream
Of Arno I was born and reared, and still
Am in the body I have always had.
But who are ye from whom, as I behold,
Down o'er your cheeks such bitter woe distils?
And what may be the penalty which so
Glitters upon you?" And the one replied
To me: "The orange mantles are of lead,
So thick, that in such wise the weights do cause
The scales to creak: and we were Jolly Friars,
And Bolognese, I Catalano named,
And Loderingo he, and jointly we
Were chosen by thy city to preserve
Its peace, as, commonly, one man alone
Is taken; and of such a sort we were,
As still round the Gardingo may be seen."
"O friars," I began, "your evil deeds"—
But said no more: for on my sight there rushed
One on the ground with three stakes crucified.
When he beheld me, he all over writhed,
Blowing the while with sighs into his beard:
And Friar Catalan, who noted this,
Said to me: "That transfixed one upon whom
Thou gazest, did advise the Pharisees
That for the people 'twas expedient
To put one man to torture. As thou seest,
He is crosswise and naked on the path,
And whosoever passes, he must needs
First feel how much he weighs: and in this trench,

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In fashion similar, his father-in-law
Is stretched at length, together with the rest
Of that assembly which was for the Jews
A seed of evil." I saw Vergil then
Marvelling over him so vilely stretched,
Cross-fashion, in the endless banishment.
Then to the friar he addressed these words:
"Let it not irk you, if you be allowed,
To tell us if there lies, on the right hand,
Some passage by which both of us may make
Our exit hence, without our making some
Of the black angels come, and from this deep
Get us away." "Nearer," he answered then,
"Than thou art hoping, is a rock that starts
From the great circle, and the cruel pits,
All of them, bridges, saving that at this
'Tis broken down, and does not cover it:
But 'twill be possible for you to mount
Upon its ruin, for upon the side
It slopes, and on the bottom forms a rise."
My Guide a moment stood with head bent down,
Then said: "That one who hooks the sinners yonder,
Did give a bad account about the case."
And said the friar: "At Bologna, once,
I of the Devil's vices used to hear
Right many told, among the which I heard
That he a liar is, and of a lie
The father." Then the Leader, with long strides,
Moved on, a little troubled in his look
With anger; whence I left the laden ones,
Following the prints of those beloved feet.

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CANTO XXIV

Dante is disturbed by the anger expressed in Vergil's face. Vergil relieves him. On their arrival at the broken bridge Vergil assists Dante to mount, and urges him forward. They reach the seventh trench, where thieves are tormented by serpents. Vanni Fucci is bitten and burned to ashes, and then resumes his human form. He prophesies to Dante the evils to be suffered by the Whites.

In that part of the youthful year wherein
The sun invigorates his locks beneath
Aquarius, and now the nights withdraw
Toward the south: when on the ground the rime
Copies the image of her sister white,
But not for long the temper of her pen
Endures,—the countryman whose forage fails,
Rises, and looks, and sees the land all blanched,
Whereat he slaps his thigh, returns indoors,
And here and there goes whining, like the wretch
Who knows not what to do; then back he comes,
And hope regains, perceiving how the world
Has changed its aspect in a little time,
And takes his crook, and forth to pasture drives
His sheep:—so did my Master make me fear,
When on his brow such trouble I beheld,
And to my hurt thus speedily there came
The plaster: for when to the ruined bridge
We came, the Leader turned him round to me,
With that sweet look which, at the mountain's foot,
I first beheld. When he within himself
Had fixed upon some plan, first scanning well
The ruin, opening his arms, he laid
His grasp upon me. And as one who works

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And reckons, for he always seems to be
Providing in advance, so, while toward
The top of one great rock he lifted me,
He had his eye upon another crag,
Saying: "Take hold of that one next; but first
Try if to bear thee it is strong enough."
'Twas not a road for one who wore a cloak,
For hardly could we mount from jag to jag,
He light, and I pushed on. And if the slope
Toward that precinct had not been more short
Than toward the other one, I know not how
It might have fared with him, but I had been
Utterly overcome. But inasmuch
As toward the opening of the lowest well
All Malebolge downward slopes, the site
Of every pit implies that the one side
Is higher, and the other lower. We,
At last, however, at the point arrived
Whence the last stone splits off. When I was up,
The breath was from my lungs so milked away,
That I could go no farther, but sat down,
As soon as I arrived. The Master said:
"Henceforth behoves thee thus to free thyself
From sloth; for not by sitting upon down,
Nor under coverlets, is fame attained,
Without the which he who consumes his life,
Leaves upon earth such vestige of himself
As smoke in air, and on the water, foam:
And therefore rise, o'ermaster thy distress
With soul that in each battle overcomes,
If with its cumbrous flesh it sink not down.
A longer stairway must be climbed: that we
Have got away from these is not enough:
Now, if thou understandest me, so act

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That it avail thee." Thereupon I rose,
And, better than I felt, I made myself
Appear with breath provided; and I said:
"Go on, for I am strong and confident."
Upward along the crag we took our way,
The which was rugged, strait, and difficult,
And steeper far than was the one before.
I, as I went, was talking, so that I
Might not seem weak, and thereupon a voice,
Unfit for forming words, proceeded forth
From the next trench. I know not what it said,
Though on the summit of the arch which there
Crosses, I was already; but the one
Who spake appeared to be to anger moved.
I had bent downward; but my living eyes,
By reason of the darkness, could not reach
The bottom: wherefore I: "See that thou get,
Master, to the next belt: let us descend
The bridge; for as from where I am I hear,
And do not understand, so down I look,
And nought distinguish." "I return to thee,"
He said, "no other answer than to do it:
Because the fit request should be with deed
Followed in silence." We went down the bridge,
At its head, where it joins with the eighth bank,
And then the pit was manifest to me:
And there I looked within a frightful mass
Of serpents, and of such a monstrous kind,
That still the memory congeals my blood.
Let Libya with her sand no longer boast;
For though she breeds chelydri, jaculi,
Cencri with amphisbæna, phareæ,—
She never, with all Ethiopia,
Nor with the land which lies on the Red Sea,

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So many plagues displayed, and so malign.
Amid this savage and most dismal swarm
Were running people nude and terrified,
Hopeless of hiding-hole or heliotrope.
They had their hands with serpents tied behind:
These through the loins fastened their tail and head,
And were entwined in front. And lo, a snake
Darted at one who was close by our side,
And, where the neck is to the shoulders joined,
Transfixed him. Never was an O or I
So quickly writ, as he took fire and burned,
And falling, must be all to ashes turned:
And after he was thus upon the ground
Unmade, the ash regathered of itself,
And suddenly into the selfsame man
Returned: so, it is solemnly declared
By the great sages that the Phœnix dies,
And then, when near to her five-hundredth year
She draws, is born again. She, living, feeds
On neither herb nor grain, but only tears
Of incense, and amomum; and her shroud,
At last, is nard and myrrh. And as is he
Who falls, and knows not how, by demon-power
Which drags him to the earth, or else by force
Of other stoppage which doth bind the man,
Who, when he rises, gazes round about,
Wholly bewildered by the great distress
That he has undergone, and gazing, sighs,—
Such was that sinner after he had risen.
O power of God, how rigorous it is,
That showers such blows in vengeance! Then my Guide
Asked who he was: he answered thereupon:
"From Tuscany I fell, not long ago,
Into this savage gorge. A bestial life,

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And not a human, pleased me, like the mule
I was: I Vanni Fucci am, a beast,
And a fit den Pistoia was for me."
And I to my Conductor: "Tell him not
To run away, and ask what was the sin
That hither thrust him down; for I have seen
Him as a bloody and a wrathful man."
The sinner then, who heard, dissembled not,
But turned toward me both his mind and face,
And with a painful shame was all suffused:
Then said: "That thou hast caught me in this woe
In which thou seest me, afflicts me more
Than when I from the other life was snatched.
That which thou askest I cannot refuse.
I am put down so far because I robbed
The Sacristy of the Fair Ornaments;
And to another, falsely, it was once
Imputed. But that thou mayst not be glad
At such a sight, if ever thou shalt be
Forth of the gloomy regions, open thou
Thine ears to my prediction, and attend:
Pistoia first of Neri strips herself,
Then Florence folk and fashions renovates.
Mars up from Val di Magra draws a mist,
Inwrapt in turbid clouds, and there shall rage
A fight, with tempest furious and sharp,
Over Piceno's plain, whence, suddenly
It shall disperse the cloud, so that thereby
Shall every White be smitten: and I have
Declared it, that thou mayst have cause to grieve."

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CANTO XXV

The seventh trench continued. Vanni Fucci blasphemes and defies God. The serpents attack him. Cacus. Dante witnesses the blending of the serpentine and human forms, and the interchange of the serpent's form with that of the man.

The robber, when these words were ended, raised
His hands with both the figs, and cried: "Take that,
God, for at thee I point them!" Friends to me
The serpents were from that time forth, for then
One coiled around his neck, as though it said:
"I will thou say no more": and round his arms
Another, and rebound him, clenching so
Itself in front, he could not give a jerk.
Pistoia! ah, Pistoia! Wherefore not
Resolve to turn thyself to ashes, so
That thou mayst last no longer, since the seed
Of which thou wast begot thou dost surpass
In evil-doing. I beheld no soul
Toward God so proud, through all the circles dark
Of Hell; not he who from the walls at Thebes
Fell down. He fled, and not another word
He uttered: and I saw a Centaur come,
All full of rage, and crying as he came:
"Where is, where is the stubborn one?" I think
That not Maremma has so many snakes,
As he had up along his rump, to where
Begins our semblance. On his shoulders lay,
With open wings, a dragon, just behind
The nape, and he sets fire to every one
That he encounters. "This," my Master said,

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"Is Cacus, who ofttimes, beneath the rock
Of Monte Aventino, made a pool
Of blood. Upon the road his brethren walk
He does not go, by reason of the theft
Which treacherously he wrought on the great herd
Which he for neighbor had: because of this
His crooked dealings ceased beneath the club
Of Hercules, who gave him, it might be,
A hundred with it, and not ten of them
He felt." While he was speaking thus, that one
Ran, at the moment, past, and under us
There came three spirits, neither by my Guide
Nor by myself remarked, until they cried:
"Who are ye?" Thereupon our talk was stopped,
And after, we gave heed to them alone.
I did not know them, but it came to pass,
As usually it happens, by some chance,
That one to name another had occasion,
Saying: "Wherever can have Cianfa stayed?"
Wherefore, in order that my Guide might be
Attentive, up from chin to nose I placed
My finger. If, O reader, now thou art
Slow to believe what I am going to tell,
No marvel it will be, for scarcely I
Who witnessed it admit it to myself.
While I was holding raised on them my brows,
In front of me a serpent with six feet
Darts, and all over fastens upon him.
It clasped his belly with its middle feet,
And seized his arms with those before; then fixed
Its teeth in both his cheeks. Upon the thighs
It spread its hinder feet, and thrust its tail
Between the two, and stretched it up behind,
Along his loins. Never was ivy knit

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So to a tree, as did that monster dire
Entwine its own along the other's limbs.
They stuck together then as though they were
Of heated wax, and intermixed their hues;
And neither now appeared what it had been:
As up before the flame a color brown
Over the paper creeps, which is not black
As yet, and fades the white. The other two
Looked on, and each one cried: "O me, Agnel!
How thou dost change! See how already thou
Art neither two nor one." The two heads now
Had become one, when there appeared to us
Two figures intermingled in one face,
Where two were lost. Two from four strips the arms
Became; the thighs together with the legs,
The belly and the chest, to members turned
Such as were never seen. Extinguished there
Was every former semblance; two and none
Seemed the distorted image, and its way
It went, such as it was, with footsteps slow.
Just as, beneath the dog-days' mighty lash,
The lizard, as it darts from hedge to hedge,
Appears a flash of lightning, if it cross
The road, so there appeared, infuriate,
A little reptile, livid, and as black
As is a peppercorn, advancing toward
The bellies of the other two; and this
Transfixed in one of them that part from which
At first is drawn our nourishment, and then
Fell down, stretched out before him. Stared at it
The one transfixed, but not a word he said:
Nay, with his feet unmoved, began to yawn,
Just as if drowsiness or fever had
Assailed him. He the serpent eyed, and him

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The serpent: through his wound the one, and through
His mouth the other furiously smoked,
And the smoke met and mingled. From henceforth
Let Lucan hold his peace, where he alludes
To poor Sabellus and Nasidius,
And wait to hear that which is now let fly.
Let Ovid be concerning Cadmus mute,
And Arethusa: for I grudge it not,
If in his poetry he changes him
Into a serpent, her into a fount:
For never, front to front, did he transmute
Two natures, in such wise that both the forms
Were ready to exchange their substance. They
Answered each to the other in such wise
That the snake split its tail into a fork,
And close the wounded one together drew
His feet. The legs and thighs along with them
Stuck of themselves together, so that soon
The juncture made no mark that could be seen.
The cleft tail took the shape the other one
Was losing, and its skin grew soft, and hard
The other's. Through the armpits I beheld
The arms draw in, and both the reptile's feet
Which had been short, lengthen as shortened those.
Thereafter, the hind feet, together twined,
Became the member which a man conceals,
And from his own the wretch had two of them
Put forth. While with new color veils them both
The smoke, and causes, over the one form,
The hair to grow, and from the other one
Strips it away, the one upraised himself,
And down the other fell, yet not for that
Their eyes malign withdrawing, under which
Each one was changing muzzle. He that was

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Erect, drew inward his toward his temples,
And of excess of matter gathered there,
From the smooth cheeks the ears came forth. The part
Which ran not back, but stayed, of that excess
Formed for the face a nose, and made the lips
As thick as was befitting. He that prone
Was lying, forward thrusts his snout, and draws
His ears within his head, as does the snail
Its horns: and the tongue cleaves itself which was
Before united and was prompt to speak,
And in the other the forked one unites,
And the smoke ceases now. The soul transformed
Into a brute, along the valley fled,
Hissing, and after it the other one
Goes spluttering as he talks. And then he turned
Upon him his new shoulders, to the third
Saying: "Along this road it is my wish
That Buoso run, as I have done before,
Upon his belly." Thus did I behold
The seventh ballast shifted and transformed;
And here the novelty be my excuse,
If my pen strays a little. And although
My eyes were somewhat darkened, and my mind
Bewildered, these could not so covertly
Take themselves off, but that I closely marked
Puccio Sciancato: and the only one
Was he of the three comrades who at first
Appeared, that was not changed. The other one
Was he whom thou, Gaville, dost lament.

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CANTO XXVI

From the side of the embankment Vergil and Dante remount to the crest, and pass upon the bridge which spans the eighth trench, where the Fraudulent Counsellors are punished. Dante sees numerous lights moving in the trench. Vergil explains. A double flame appears, containing the spirits of Diomede and Ulysses. Vergil addresses the flame, and Ulysses, at his request, relates the story of his final voyage and of his death.

Rejoice, O Florence, since thou art so great,
That over sea and over land thy wings
Thou beatest, and through Hell thy name is spread.
Five such as these I found among the thieves,
Thy citizens, whence shame upon me comes,
And not to great esteem dost thou thereby
Ascend. And if, near morning, one doth dream
Of what is true, thou shalt, in little time,
Make proof of that which Prato, not to say
Others, for thee desires. And if it were
Already, not too early would it be.
Would that it were, for surely it must be;
For it will grow more burdensome to me
As I grow older. We departed thence,
And o'er the stairway which the jutting crags
Had made for our descent before, again
My Master mounted, drawing me along.
And following the solitary path,
Among the splinters and among the stones
Of the rock-bridge, the foot did clear no ground
Without the hand. I sorrowed then, and now
Again I grieve when I my mind direct
On what I saw; and more my genius curb
Than is my wont, that it may not pursue

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A course where Virtue does not point its way;
So that if kindly star or better thing
Have with that boon endowed me, to myself
I may not grudge it. In such multitudes
As are the fireflies by the peasant seen,
Who on the hillside rests, down through the vale
Where he perchance his vintage gathers in,
Or drives his plough, what time he who the world
Illumes, keeps least concealed from us his face,
When to the gnat the fly gives place,—with flames
All the eighth pit was gleaming, as I marked,
Soon as I reached the point where into view
The bottom came. And as the one who was
With bears avenged, Elijah's chariot saw
At its departure when the horses rose
Erect to heaven, for he with his eyes
Could not so follow it as to see aught
Save the flame only, like a little cloud
Ascending: so along the trench's gorge
Each one was moving, for no one displays
Its theft, and every flame a sinner hides.
Tiptoe I stood upon the bridge to see,
So that had not I grasped a knob of rock,
I should without a push have fallen down.
And said the Guide who saw me thus intent:
"Within the fires the spirits are: each one
Is swathed with that with which he is on fire."
"My Master," I replied, "through hearing thee
I am more certain; but that so it was
I had surmised already, and but now
I wished to say to thee: 'Who is within
That fire which comes, so parted at the top,
That from the pyre on which Eteocles
Was with his brother placed, it seems to rise?' "

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"Ulysses is tormented there within,"
He answered me, "and Diomed, and these
Go, in their punishment as in their wrath,
Together: and within their flame is mourned
The ambush of the horse which made the gate
Whence issued forth the Romans' noble seed.
Within there is lamented the device
By which Deidamia still, though dead,
Grieves for Achilles; and the penalty
For the Palladium is borne therein."
"If they within those flames can speak," I said,
"I earnestly entreat thee, and again
I pray, O Master, that my prayer may have
The value of a thousand, that to me
The waiting thou do not refuse, until
The horned flame come this way: thou seest how
I am inclined toward it with desire."
And he to me: "Thy prayer deserves much praise,
And therefore I accept it; see to it,
However, that thy tongue refrain itself.
Leave talk to me: for what thou dost desire
I have conceived: since, seeing they were Greeks,
They haply would be scornful of thy words."
After the flame had at the point arrived
Where to my Guide the time and place seemed fit,
I heard him in this fashion speak to it:
"Ye two within one fire, if, while I lived,
I merited of you,—if I deserved
Little or much of you, what time I penned
On earth my lofty verses, do not move,
But let the one of you tell where, when lost,
He went to die." Began the greater horn
Of that old flame to flicker, murmuring,
Just like the flame which by the wind is teased.

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Then swaying to and fro its tip, as though
It were the tongue that spoke, it sent abroad
A voice, and said: "When I from Circe went,
Who for a year and more had hidden me
Near to Gaeta, ere Æneas thus
Had named it, neither fondness for my son,
Nor filial reverence for my aged sire,
Nor the love due from me, which should have made
Penelope rejoice, could quell in me
The ardent longing which I had to grow
Experienced in the world, and in the faults
And virtues of mankind; but I put forth
On the deep, open sea, with one sole ship,
And with that little company by which
I had not been forsaken. I beheld
The shores on either side as far as Spain,
As far as to Morocco, and the isle
Of the Sardinians, and the others bathed
By that encircling sea. Aged and slow
Were I and my companions when we reached
That narrow pass where Hercules set up
His boundaries, in order that beyond
Man may not push: on the right hand I left
Sevilla, and had Ceuta left behind
Already, on the other. Thus I spoke:
'Brothers, who through a hundred thousand risks
Have reached the West, desire not to deny
To this your senses' waking hour so brief,
Experience of the world unpeopled, won
By following the sun. Your origin
Consider: not to live as brutes were ye
Created, but to follow in pursuit
Of virtue and of knowledge.' With this speech,
Short as it was, I for the voyage made

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So keen my comrades, that, thereafter, scarce
I could have held them back. And with our stern
Turned to the morning, with our oars we made
Wings for our crazy flight, to larboard still
Ever more bearing. Now the night beheld
All of the stars about the other pole,
And ours so low that from the ocean-floor
It did not rise. Five times the light had been
Rekindled underneath the moon, and quenched
As many, since upon the dangerous way
We entered, when to us appeared a mount,
By distance dim, which higher seemed to me
Than any I had ever seen before.
Joyful we were, but quickly was our joy
Turned into mourning; for from that new land
Was born a whirlwind, and our ship's fore part
It smote, and made her whirl about three times,
With all the waters, at the fourth the stern
Heave up, and the prow downward go, as pleased
Another, till the sea above us closed."

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CANTO XXVII

Ulysses and Diomede pass on. Another voice is heard asking about the present condition of Romagna. Dante replies. The spirit, Guido da Montefeltro, informs him who he is, and how Boniface VIII. lured him to destruction. He describes his experience immediately after death.

The flame, through having ceased to speak, was now
Erect and quiet, and away from us
Already moving, as the gentle Bard
Gave his consent, when still another one
Which came behind it, made us turn our eyes
Toward its tip, by reason of a sound
Confused, which issued from it. As the bull
Of Sicily, which bellowed first with plaint
Of him (and that was right) who with his file
Had shaped it,—with the sufferer's voice was wont
To bellow, so that, though it was of brass,
It seemed still with the pain to be transfixed,—
So, since they had nor way nor opening,
The woful words were into its own tongue
Changed by the fire's informing principle.
But after they had taken through the point
Upward their way, giving it that vibration,
Which, as they passed, the tongue had given them,
We heard it say: "O thou at whom I aim
My voice, and who just now didst Lombard speak,
Saying: 'Pass on now, more I urge thee not:'
Though I perhaps am come a little late,
May it not trouble thee to stop and speak
With me: thou seest that it irks me not,
And yet I burn. If into this blind world

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Thou art but now fallen from that sweet land
Of Italy, whence all my sins I bring,
Tell me if peace the Romagnuoli have
Or war; for I was of the mountains there
Between Urbino and the chain wherefrom
The Tiber is unfettered." Still I was
Gazing intently down, and forward bent,
When my Conductor touched me on the side,
Saying: "Speak thou, he is of Italy."
And I who had already my reply
At hand, began to speak without delay:
"O spirit who art hidden there below,
From conflict thy Romagna is not free,
Nor in its tyrants' bosoms ever was;
But now I there have left no open war.
Ravenna is as she for many years
Has been. The Eagle of Polenta there
Is brooding, so that with his wings he covers
Cervia. Under the Green Paws again
The city finds itself which made erewhile
The long defence, and in a gory heap
Did pile the French. Verruchio's Mastiff Old,
And the Young one, who with Montagna dealt
So foully, make an auger of their teeth
There where it is their wont. The Lion-cub
Of the white lair the cities of Lamone
And of Santerno governs, changing sides
From summer time to winter; and that town
Whose flank the Savio bathes, just as it sits
Between the mountain and the plain, so lives
'Twixt tyranny and freedom. Now I pray
That thou wilt tell us who thou art: be not
More uncomplying than have others been;
So may thy name on earth maintain a front."

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When the fire, after its own fashion, had
Roared for awhile, the sharp point to and fro
Moved, and thereafter vented such a breath
As follows: "If I thought that my reply
Were to a person who would ever go
Back to the world, without more flickerings
This flame would be: but since, if truth I hear,
No one did ever from this deep return
Alive, I answer thee without the fear
Of infamy. I was a man of arms,
And afterward became a Cordelier,
Trusting, thus girt, to make amends: and sooth,
My trust was in a way to be made good,
Had it not been for the great Priest (on whom
May evil seize), who set me back again
Into my former sins; and how and why
I will thou hear from me. While I retained
The form of bones and flesh my mother gave
To me, not of the lion were my deeds,
But of the fox. All subtle plans I knew,
And covert ways; and so I plied their art,
That to the world's end went abroad the sound.
When to that portion of my life I saw
That I had come, when every one should strike
The sails, and coil the ropes, that which to me
Before was pleasing, then became to me
Irksome, and I, repentant and confessed,
Gave up myself; alas, unhappy me!
And in good stead it would have stood. The chief
Of the new Pharisees, in war engaged
Hard by the Lateran, and not with Jews
Or Saracens, for every enemy
Of his was Christian, and no one had been
To conquer Acre, or to drive his trade

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Within the Sultan's country,—in himself
Regarded not his charge pre-eminent,
Nor holy orders, nor in me the cord
Which used to make its girded ones more lean.
But as, to cure him of his leprosy,
Constantine, in Soracte, sought Sylvester,
So this one sought me out as an adept,
To cure the fever of his pride: he asked
Advice of me, and I kept still, because
His words seemed like the words of drunken men.
And then he said to me: 'Let not thy heart
Mistrust: from this time forth I thee absolve,
And do thou teach me so to act that I
May cast down Palestrina to the earth.
I, as thou knowest, have the power to lock
Heaven, and to unlock it; hence the keys
Are two, for which my predecessor cared
But little.' Then his weighty arguments
Pushed me to where it was most ill-advised
For me to hold my peace, and so I said:
'Seeing that thou, my Father, purgest me
Of that transgression whereinto I now
Must fall, long promise and fulfilment short
Shall make thee triumph on thy lofty seat.
Then Francis came for me when I was dead;
But to him one of the black cherubim
Said: 'Take him not away; do me no wrong.
He needs must down among my minions come,
Because he gave the fraudulent advice,
Since which, till now, I have been at his hair;
For he who is not contrite cannot be
Absolved, nor can the will to sin exist
At the same time with penitence, because
The contradiction does not suffer this.'

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O wretched me! How I did shudder when
He seized on me, and said to me: 'Mayhap
Thou didst not think that I was a logician.'
He carried me to Minos, and he twined
His tail eight times around his stubborn back,
And having for great fury bitten it,
He said: 'This one is of the guilty souls
That dwell within the thievish fire:' for this,
Here where thou seest I am lost, and mourn,
As thus enrobed I go." The flame, when he
Had ended thus his words, went off lamenting,
Writhing its pointed horn and flapping it.
Both I and my Conductor onward went,
Upward along the crag, until we were
Upon another arch, which overhangs
The trench in which the fee is paid of those
Who for themselves by sundering gain a load.

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CANTO XXVIII

The ninth trench, where are punished Schismatics and Sowers of Discord. A frightful spectacle of gashed and mutilated forms. Mahomet, Pier da Medicina, Curio, Mosca Lamberti, Bertrand de Born.

Who, ever, even with unfettered words,
For all his telling, fully could describe
The blood and wounds which now I saw? Each tongue
Would surely fail, by reason of our speech
And understanding, for small room have these
To comprehend so much. If yet again
Were gathered all the folk who, on a time,
In the Apulian land, the sport of fate,
Lamented for their blood by Trojans spilled,
And for the tedious war which with the rings
Made such a heap of spoil, as Livy writes,
Who errs not: with that folk that felt the smart
Of blows, because to Robert Guiscard they
Had made resistance, and the other folk,
Whose bones are still at Ceperano heaped,
Where each Apulian was false, and there
By Tagliacozzo, where a victory
The old Alardo without weapons won:
And one should show his limb transpierced, and one
His limb cut off,—there would be nought to match
The hideous mode of the ninth Evil-pit.
Never, by losing middle-piece or stave,
A cask is rent apart, as one I saw
Cleft from the chin as far as to the point
Where one breaks wind: between the legs hung down

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The entrails; and the vitals were in sight,
And the foul pouch which into ordure turns
Whate'er is swallowed. While I gave myself
Wholly to seeing him, he looked at me,
And open with his hands he laid his breast,
Saying: "Behold now how I rend me! See
How Mahomet is mangled! Ali goes
Before me weeping, cloven in his face
From chin to forelock: and the others all
Whom here thou seest, in their lifetime were
Sowers of discord and of schism; and thus,
Therefore, are cleft. There is a devil here
Behind, who regulates so cruelly
This plight of ours, and puts to the sword's edge
Afresh, each member of this gang, when we
Have made the circuit of the doleful road;
Because our wounds are all closed up again,
Ere any one in front of him repass.
But who art thou that musest on the crag,
Perchance in order that thou mayst delay
Thy going to the punishment adjudged
Upon thine own confession?" "Neither death
Has reached him yet, nor, to torment him, guilt
Brings him," my Master answered; "but to give
To him experience full, I who am dead,
From round to round must lead him here below,
Through Hell: and surely as I speak to thee,
This is the truth." More than a hundred were
They who, within the trench, to look at me,
Stopped when they heard him, through astonishment
Forgetful of their torment. "Therefore now,
Thou who perhaps wilt shortly see the sun,
Bid Fra Dolcino, if he do not wish
Hither, in no long time, to follow me,

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So with provisions to equip himself,
That piled-up snows may to the Novarese
Not give the victory which, otherwise,
'Twere no light task to win." When Mahomet
Had lifted the one foot to go away,
He spoke this word to me, and after that,
Upon the ground he stretched it to depart.
Another one who had his throat transpierced,
And close beneath his brows his nose cut off,
And had but one ear, suddenly, to look,
Arrested with the others by surprise,—
Opened before the rest his gullet, red
Without, in every part, and said: "O thou
Whom guilt doth not condemn, and whom, above,
I in the land of Italy have seen,
Unless too close resemblance play me false,
If ever thou returnest to behold
The lovely plain which from Vercelli slopes
To Marcabo, to thy remembrance bring
Piero da Medicina. And make known
To Fano's worthiest pair—to Messer Guido,
And Angiolello likewise, that if here
Our foresight be not vain, they shall be cast
Out of their vessel, and within a sack
Be drowned, through a fell tyrant's treachery,
Hard by Cattolica. A crime so great
Never did Neptune see between the isles
Of Cyprus and Majorca, at the hands
Either of pirates or of Argive folk.
That traitor who with one eye only sees,
And holds the city from the sight of which
One of my comrades here would wish to be
Fasting, will make them come along with him
To parley; then in such a way will deal,

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That they will need against Focara's wind
Nor vow nor prayer." And I replied to him:
"Show and declare to me, if thou dost wish
That I should carry news of thee above,
Who is that one to whom the sight is bitter?"
Thereat he laid his hand upon the jaw
Of one of his companions, and his mouth
He opened, crying: "This is he himself,
And he speaks not: he, banished, drowned the doubt
In Cæsar, by affirming that the man,
Once ready, always to his hurt allowed
Delay." O how confounded Curio, erst
So bold to speak, appeared to me, with tongue
Within his throat cut off. And one who had
Both hands lopped off, up through the murky air
Lifting the stumps, so that the blood befouled
His face, cried out: "Thou shalt bethink thyself
Of Mosca also, I who said, alas!
'A thing once done is ended,' that which was
The seed of evil to the Tuscan folk."
"And," added I to that, "death to thy race;"
He thereupon, woe heaping upon woe,
Went on his way like one distressed and crazed.
But I remained to look upon the crowd,
And saw a thing which, without further proof,
I would not venture only to relate,
Unless I were by conscience reassured,
That good companion which emboldens man,
Under the mail of conscious purity.
I surely saw, and seem to see it still,
Going along, a trunk without a head,
As went the others of that dismal herd.
And dangling like a lantern, with its hand
It held the head dissevered, by the hair,

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And that was gazing at us, and "O me!"
Was saying. Of itself it made a lamp
To guide itself, and they were two in one,
And one in two; how this can be He knows
Who so ordains. When it was at the foot,
Directly, of the bridge, it raised aloft
Its arm with head and all, that so it might
Near to us bring its words, the which were these:
"Behold now my distressful punishment,
Thou who go'st breathing, looking on the dead:
See if there any be as great as this;
And so that thou mayst carry news of me,
Know that I am Bertrand de Born, that man
Who wicked instigations did apply
To the young king. Father and son I set
At mutual enmity. Achitophel
With Absalom and David did no more,
By his malicious goadings. I, alas!
Because I parted persons thus allied,
Carry my brain dissevered from its source
Which is within this trunk. And thus in me
The law of retribution is observed."

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CANTO XXIX

After some talk about one of Dante's relatives whose shade Dante thinks he has seen among the sinners in the ninth trench, they pass upon the bridge which spans the tenth and last trench where the Falsifiers are punished. Dante confers with two alchemists, Griffolino and Capocchio.

The many people and the wounds diverse
Had made my eyes so drunken that they longed
To stay to weep; but Vergil said to me:
"Why art thou gazing still? Why is thy sight
Still riveted down there among the shades
Mournful and mutilated? Thou hast not
Behaved thus at the other pits: reflect,
If thou dost think to count them, that the vale
A circuit makes of two and twenty miles;
And the moon is already underneath
Our feet: brief is the time allowed us now,
And there is something else to see beside
What thou art seeing." I forthwith replied:
"If thou hadst given attention to the cause
For which I gazed, thou wouldst have granted me,
Perhaps, a longer stay." My Guide meanwhile
Was going on, and, as I went behind,
I was already making my response,
And adding: "In that hollow where I was
Holding just now my eyes so fixedly,
I think a spirit of my race bewails
The sin which there below so dearly costs."
Then said the Master: "Do not let thy thought
From this time forth be broken upon him:
Attend to something else, and let him there

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Remain; for at the little bridge's foot
I saw him point thee out, and furiously
Make menace with his finger, and I heard
Him by the name Geri del Bello called.
Thou then wast so engrossed with him who once
Held Altaforte, that thou didst not look
That way; so he was gone." "My Guide," I said:
"The violent death which is not yet avenged
For him by any one who of the shame
Is partner, filled him with disdain; and hence,
As I suppose, without a word to me,
He went his way; and more compassionate
Toward him thereby has made me." Thus we talked,
As far as the first place which from the crag
A view of the next valley would afford,
Quite to the bottom, if there were more light.
When we were over the last cloister now
Of Malebolge, so that its lay-brothers
Could make themselves apparent to our sight,
Diverse laments assailed me, which with woe
Their shafts had barbed: I therefore with my hands
Did cover up my ears. Such as the woe
Would be, if, in the season from July
On to September, were the maladies
Of Valdichiana's hospitals, and those
Of the Maremma and Sardinia, heaped
Within a single ditch,—such it was there;
And thence such stench did issue as is wont
To come from putrid limbs. From the long crag,
We, keeping ever to the left, went down
Upon the last bank, and my sight was then
More vivid down toward the bottom, where
Justice infallible—the ministress
Of the high Lord—inflicts her punishment

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Upon the Falsifiers whom she here
Enrolls. A greater sorrow, I believe,
It was not, in Ægina to behold
The people all enfeebled, when the air
Was laden with infection so, that all
The living creatures, to the little worm,
Fell down, and afterward the ancient folk
Was from the seed of ants restored, as hold
For sure the poets,—than it was to see
The spirits languishing in separate heaps,
Throughout the gloomy valley. One was lying
Upon the other's belly; and upon
The shoulders one; another, on all-fours,
His place along the melancholy road
Kept shifting. Step by step, without a word,
We moved along, with eyes and ears intent
Upon the sick who could not lift themselves.
I saw two sitting, on each other propped,
As baking-pans against each other lean
For heating, specked with scabs from head to foot:
And I ne'er saw a currycomb so plied
By stable-boy for whom his master waits,
Or one who stays awake against his will,
As each was plying fast upon himself
The clawing of his nails, so furious was
The itch, which no assuagement has beside.
And the nails downward dragged the scab, as does
A knife the scales of carp, or other fish
That has them larger. "Thou," began my Guide
To one of them, "who with thy fingers art
Thyself dismailing, and dost pincers make,
Sometimes, of them, inform us if there be
Any Italian among those who are
Within here; so forever may thy nails

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Suffice thee for this work." "I," said the Guide,
"Am one who with this living man descend
From ledge to ledge, and mean to show him Hell."
Then broke their mutual support, and each,
Trembling, toward me turned, with others who
By echo heard him. The good Master gave
To me his whole attention, and he said:
"Say to them what thou wilt." And I began,
Since so he wished: "So in the former world
May not your memory from the minds of men
Be filched away, but under many suns
So may it live,—inform me who ye are,
And of what folk: let not your punishment
Unseemly and disgusting frighten you
From making known yourselves to me." "I was,"
The one of them replied, "an Aretine,
And Albero of Siena had me put
Into the fire; but that for which I died
Brings me not hither. True it is I said,
Speaking in jest, to him, that I knew how
In flight to raise me through the air: and he,
Possessed of curiosity, and of wit
But little, wanted me to show the art
To him; and just because I made him not
A Dædalus, he caused me to be burned
By one who as his son regarded him.
But Minos, who is not allowed to err,
Because of alchemy, which in the world
I practised, to the last pit of the ten
Condemned me." To the Poet then I said:
"Now was there ever folk so frivolous
As are the Sienese? Not so the French,
By a great deal." Whereat to what I said,
The other leprous one who overheard me,

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Replied: "Except me Stricca, he who knew
The way to make his outlays moderate;
And Niccolo, who made discovery,
First, of the costly fashion of the clove,
Within the garden where such seed takes root:
Except too the fraternity wherein
Did Caccia d'Ascian his vineyard squander,
And his great forest, and wherein his wit
The Abbagliato showed. But to the end
That thou mayst know who backs thee in such wise
Against the Sienese, toward me make keen
Thine eye, so that my face may truthfully
Answer thy question; so thou wilt perceive
I am Capocchio's shade who falsified
The metals by the means of alchemy;
And thou shouldst recollect, unless my eye
Deceive me, how I nature deftly aped."

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CANTO XXX

The tenth Bolgia continued. Dante sees counterfeiters of others' persons, false-coiners and perjurers, tormented with madness, dropsy, and fever. The mad shade Gianni Schicchi attacks Capocchio. Myrrha is pointed out. The poets are addressed by Adam of Brescia, the counterfeiter of the Florentine coin. He identifies Potiphar's wife and Sinon. Adam and Sinon fall into a wrangle, for his interest in which Dante is rebuked by Vergil.

When Juno was, because of Semele,
Wroth at the Theban blood, as more than once
She showed,—so crazed did Athamas become,
That when he saw his wife, with her two sons
Go laden upon either hand, he cried:
"Now let us spread the nets, that at the pass
I capture the she-lion and the cubs."
And then he spread his unrelenting claws,
And seized the one who was Learchus named,
And whirled him round, and dashed him on a rock;
And with her other load she drowned herself.
And when the Trojans' pride which all things dared,
Fortune abased, and king and kingdom were
Together brought to ruin, Hecuba,
Sad, wretched, captive, after she beheld
Polyxena a corpse, and sorrowful,
Upon the margin of the sea descried
Her Polydorus,—of her sense bereft,
Barked like a dog; so greatly did her grief
Distort her mind. But never were there seen
In any one such cruel frenzy-fits,
Theban or Trojan,—not for goading beasts,
Much less the limbs of men,—as in two shades,

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Naked and pale, I saw, which biting ran
In such wise as a boar, when from the sty
He is let loose. One at Capocchio came,
And in his neck's nape so he struck his tusks,
That, dragging him, he made him scratch his belly
Upon the solid bottom. And to me
The Aretine, who shuddering remained,
Said: "Gianni Schicchi is yon furious imp,
Who, harrying others, thus goes raving round."
Said I to him: "So may the other one
Not fix his teeth on thee,—let not it be
Irksome to thee to tell us who it is,
Before it darts from here." And he to me:
"The ancient soul of Myrrha infamous
Is that, who lover to her sire became
Beyond the rightful love. To sin with him
In this wise, in another's form she came,
Herself disguising, as that other one
Who yonder goes his way did, in himself,
Buoso Donati dare to personate,
That he might win the lady of the stud,
Making a will, and to the testament
Giving a legal form." And when had passed
The two infuriate ones on whom I had
Kept fixed my eye, I turned it back to watch
The others born in evil hour. I saw
One fashioned like a lute, if only he
Had had his groin cut off close by the part
At which a man is forked. The dropsy sore,
Which, with the moisture that assimilates
Imperfectly, of due proportion robs
The members, so that does not correspond
The visage to the paunch,—was causing him
To hold his lips apart, like him who burns

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With hectic fever, who, from thirst, directs
The one toward the chin, the other upward.
"Ye who from every punishment are free
In this sad world (and why I do not know),"
He said to us, "look, and consider well
Master Adamo's misery. I had,
While still I lived, enough of what I wished,
And now, alas! a drop of water crave.
The little brooks that from the verdant hills
Of Casentino down to Arno flow,
Making their channels cool and soft, alway
Are in my view, and not in vain, because
Far more than the disease which makes me strip
My face of flesh, their image dries me up.
The justice stern that goads me draws the more
Occasion from the place in which I sinned,
To wing my sighs. There is Romena, where
I falsified the current coin, which bore
The Baptist's effigy; for which I left
On earth my body burnt. But if I could
But see the wretched soul of Guido here,
Or that of Alessandro, or their brothers',
For Branda's fount I would not give the sight.
Within here one of them already is,
If speak the truth the maddened shades that round
Are going: but to me whose limbs are bound,
What profits it? If only I were yet
So nimble that I, in a hundred years,
Could go a single inch upon the road,
By this time I had started, seeking him
'Mid this disfigured folk, although it winds
Eleven miles around, and is not here
Less than a half a mile across. I am
In such a family because of them:

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By them I was prevailed upon to coin
The florins with three carats of alloy."
And I to him: "Who are the wretched pair
Who smoke like hands in winter washed, and lie
Close at thy right?" He answered: "When I dropped
Into this cleft, I found them here, and since,
They have not made a turn, nor do I think
They will, for everlasting. One of them
Is the deceitful woman who accused
Joseph; the other one false Sinon is,
The Greek from Troy. Sharp fever causes them
To send up such a reek." And one of them,
Who took offence, perhaps because was given
To him a name so black, smote with his fist
His belly hard; that sounded like a drum:
And Master Adam, with his arm that seemed
No softer, smote his face, and said to him:
"Although deprived of motion by my limbs,
The which are burdensome, I have an arm
Free for such need as this." He thereupon
Replied: "When thou wast going to the fire,
Thou hadst it not so ready; but when thou
Wast coining, thou didst have it so and more."
And he with dropsy said: "Thou speakest truth
In this; but no such truthful witness there
Thou wast, when thou wast questioned of the truth
At Troy." Said Sinon: "If I falsely spake,
Yet thou didst falsify the coin, and I
Am here for but one sin, and thou for more
Than any other demon." "Perjurer,
The horse remember!" answered he who had
The swollen paunch; "and woeful may it be
To thee, that all the world is ware of it."
"To thee be woeful," said the Greek, "the thirst

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With which thy tongue doth crack, and the foul rheum
That makes thy belly thus before thine eyes
A hedge." The coiner then: "Thus opens wide
Thy mouth to its own harm, as it is wont;
For if I have the thirst, and humor bloats me,
Thou hast the burning and the head that pains thee,
And thou wouldst not require a many words
To bid thee lap Narcissus's looking-glass."
I was all fixed on listening to them,
When said my Chief to me: "Now only look!
For little does it lack that I with thee
Have quarrel." When I heard him speak to me
With anger, toward him I turned with shame,
Such that it circles in my memory still.
And as he is who dreams of his own hurt,
Who, dreaming, wishes he were in a dream,
So that he longs for that which is, as though
'Twere not,—such I became, without the power
To speak; for to excuse myself I wished,
And all the while I was excusing me,
And did not think that I was doing it.
"Less shame doth wash away a greater fault
Than thine has been," the Master said; "do thou,
Therefore, discharge all sadness from thyself,
And count that I am always at thy side,
If fortune chance again to find thee where
Are people in a wrangle such as this;
For 'tis a low wish to desire to hear it."

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CANTO XXXI

Leaving the tenth trench, they proceed to cross the space which separates it from the central pit. They hear the sound of a horn, and Dante sees what he supposes to be towers. Vergil informs him that they are giants standing in the central pit. The appearance of Nimrod and Ephialtes described. Next Antæus, who takes the poets in his hand and places them at the bottom of the pit, and in the ninth circle.

One and the selfsame tongue first wounded me,
So that it colored both my cheeks, and then
To me supplied the medicine. Just so
Achilles's lance, I hear, which also was
His father's, used to be the cause, at first,
Of an unhappy gift, and afterward,
Of one benign. Upon the vale of woe
We turned our back, and up along the bank
Which girds it round we crossed, without exchange
Of any talk. Here there was less than night,
And less than day, so that in front of me
My sight but little went: but a loud horn
I heard resound, so loud that every peal
Of thunder faint it would have made, the which
Guided my eyes, which counter to itself
Pursued its course, entirely to one place.
Orlando sounded not so terribly,
After the woeful rout, when Charlemagne
The sacred squadron lost. Not long I bore
My head that way directed, when it seemed
To me that many lofty towers I saw;
Whence I: "My Master, say what town is this?"
And he to me: "Because from too far off
Thou peerest through the gloom, it comes to pass

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That afterward in thine imagining
Thou errest. If that place thou shalt approach,
Right clearly thou wilt see how much thy sense
By distance is deceived: spur on thyself,
Therefore, a little more." Then by the hand
He took me lovingly, and said: "Ere we
Are farther on, in order that the fact
May seem to thee less strange, know that these are
Not towers but giants, and one and all of them
Are, from the navel down, within the pit,
Around its margin." As when is dispersed
The mist, the sight makes out by slow degrees
Whate'er the vapor hides which crowds the air,—
So, as I pierced the air so gross and dim,
And near and nearer to the brink approached,
My error fled from me, and grew my fear.
For as, above its round enclosing wall,
Montereggione crowns itself with towers,
So, as with towers, with half their bodies girt
The margin which encompasses the pit,
The giants horrible, whom Jove from heaven
Still threatens when he thunders. And I now
Descried the face, the shoulders, and the breast
Of one of these, and of the belly much,
And both the arms stretched down along the sides.
Right well did Nature, surely, when she left
The art of making creatures such as these,
To take away such ministers from Mars:
And if it be that she repents her not
Of elephants and whales, more just for that
And more discreet he holds her, who observes
Acutely: for where, to the evil will,
And to the power, the equipment of the mind
Is added, no defence the human race

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Can make against it. Long and huge as is
At Rome Saint Peter's pine-cone, seemed to me
His face; and in proportion with it were
The other bones; so that the bank which was
A skirt, down from the middle, showed of him
Fully so much above, that to his hair
Three Frisons would have made vain boast to reach:
Since downward from the place at which a man
Buckles his mantle, I beheld of him
Thirty great spans. Began the savage mouth,
Which sweeter psalms did not become, to cry:
"*Rafel mai amech zabi almi.*"
And said my Guide to him: "Thou silly soul,
Keep to thy horn, and vent thyself with that,
When wrath or other passion touches thee.
Seek at thy neck, and thou wilt find the cord
Which holds it tied, O thou distracted soul,
And see it how it girds thy mighty breast."
Then said to me: "He doth accuse himself.
This one is Nimrod, through whose evil thought
One language only is not in the world
Employed. Him let us leave alone, and not
Waste words on him; for every tongue to him
Is such as his to others, which to none
Is known." Then, leftward turned, we farther went,
And found, a crossbow-shot away, the next,
More savage far and larger. Of what sort
The master may have been who fettered him,
I cannot say, but his left arm he held
Pinioned in front, and at his back the right,
With chain which held him downward from the neck
Engirded, so that on the part exposed,
As far as the fifth coil it wound around.
"This haughty one," my Leader said, "desired

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To try his power on Jove supreme, for which
He suffers such requital. He is named
Ephialtes, and he showed his prowess great,
What time the giants caused the gods to fear:
No more he moves the arms he wielded then."
And I to him: "I would, if possible,
These eyes of mine might have experience
Of vast Briareus." Wherefore he replied:
"Antæus thou shalt see not far from here,
Who speaks and is unfettered, who will set us
Down at the very bottom of all guilt.
The one whom thou would'st see is far beyond,
And is like this one bound and fashioned, save
That in his countenance he seems more fierce."
Never was earthquake violent enough
To shake a tower with the force with which
Ephialtes on the instant shook himself.
Then more than ever I feared death, and more
For that there was not needed than the fright,
Had not I seen his fetters. Then we went
Still farther on, and to Antæus came,
Who issued from the rock a good five ells,
Besides his head. "O thou who in the vale
Favored by Fortune, which made Scipio
An heir of fair renown, when Hannibal
Turned with his host his back,—didst once for prey
Capture a thousand lions, and of whom
It seems that there are those who still believe
That if thou hadst been at the mighty fight
The which thy brothers fought, the sons of earth
The victory would have won,—set us below,
(And do not scorn to do it), where the cold
Locks up Cocytus. Do not make us go
To Tityus or to Typhon: this one has

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The power to give of that which here is craved:
Bend therefore down, and no wry faces make.
Up in the world he still can give thee fame;
For he is living, and he still expects
Long life, provided grace, before the time,
Call him not to itself." The Master thus
Did speak: and quickly he stretched forth the hands
Whose mighty grip Hercules felt one time,
And took my Guide. When he perceived that he
Was grasped, to me said Vergil: "Put thyself
In here, that I may grasp thee:" then he did
So that one bundle he and I became.
Such as the Carisenda seems to sight
Beneath its leaning side, when over it
A cloud is passing, so that to the cloud
The tower is leaning counter,—such to me,
Who was upon the watch to see him bend,
Antæus seemed, and such that moment was,
That by another road I could have wished
To go: but at the bottom which ingulfs
With Judas, Lucifer, he set us down,
Lightly, nor there, thus stooping, made delay,
But raised himself as in a ship a mast.

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CANTO XXXII

The ninth circle. Dante sees a great, frozen lake in which shades are imbedded. Vergil warns him not to tread upon the heads of the transgressors. Interviews with different traitors.

If I had rough and rasping verses, such
As would befit the dismal cavity
Upon the which the other rocky rounds
All thrust, I would more copiously express
The juice of my conception; but because
I have them not, I bring myself to speak
Not without fear. For to delineate
The lowest depth of all the universe,
Is not an enterprise to undertake
In jest, nor with a prattling tongue that cries
"Mamma and Papa." But may help my verse
Those dames who to Amphion lent their aid
In walling Thebes about, so that my words
May differ not from fact. O rabble-rout,
Beyond all miscreated, who are in
The place whereof 'tis difficult to speak,
'Twere better ye had here been sheep or goats.
When we were down within the gloomy pit,
Far lower than the giants' feet, and I
Was gazing still upon the lofty wall,
I heard it said to me: "Look how thou steppest!
So go that with thy soles thou trample not
Upon the wretched, weary brothers' heads."
I turned me thereupon, and I beheld,
Before me, and beneath my feet, a lake
Which had the semblance, from the frost, of glass,

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And not of water. Ne'er in winter made,
In Austria, the Danube for its stream
So thick a veil, nor, yonder, Tanais
Beneath the freezing sky, as here there was:
For e'en if Tambernich had fallen on it,
Or Pietrapana, even at the edge
'Twould not have given a crack. And as the frog
Sits, with its muzzle out of water thrust
To croak, what time the peasant-woman dreams
Often of gleaning,—livid to the point
Where shame appears, the shades disconsolate
Were in the ice, and setting to the note
Of storks their teeth. Each held his face turned down:
Among them, from their mouth the cold procures
A witness for itself, and from their eyes
The heart distressed. When I had looked around
A little, to my feet I turned, and saw
Two, drawn so close together that the hair
Upon their heads was intermixed. I said:
"Ye who together thus your bosoms press,
Tell me, who are ye?" And they bent their necks,
And after they had raised to me their faces,
Their eyes which hitherto, only within
Were moist, dripped o'er the eyelids, and the frost
Bound up the tears between them, and again
Locked them together. Never bound a clamp
So strongly plank to plank; and therefore they,
Like two he-goats, were butting one another,
Such anger mastered them. And one who had
Lost both his ears by reason of the cold,
His face still downward, said: "Why dost thou so
Mirror thyself in us? If thou wouldst know
Who these two are, the valley down from which
Bisenzio flows, their father Albert's was,

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And theirs. They from one body issued forth:
And all Caïna thou mayst search, and thou
Wilt find no shade more worthy to be set
In jelly: not that one who had his breast
And shadow cloven with a single blow
By Arthur's hand: not Focaccia; not he
Who with his head is so annoying me
That I no farther see, and bore the name
Of Sassol Mascheroni: if thou art
A Tuscan, who he was thou knowest now
Full well. And that thou mayst not set me on
To further talking, be it known to thee
That I was Camicione dei Pazzi,
And I await Carlino, that he may
Extenuate my guilt." When I had seen
A thousand faces, purple made by cold,
Whence comes to me a shudder, and will come,
Always, at sight of frozen pools, and while
We were toward the centre going, where
All that is heavy centres, and I was
Shivering in the eternal chill,—I know not
If it were will, or destiny, or chance:
But as I passed among the heads, I struck
My foot hard in the face of one. He cried,
Wailing, to me: "Why dost thou trample me?
Unless, for Montaperti, thou art come
To aggravate the vengeance, why dost thou
Molest me?" And I said: "My Master, now
Wait here for me, so that, by this one's means,
I from a doubt may issue: then for me
Thou shalt make haste as much as pleases thee."
The Leader stopped, and I to him, who still
Was fiercely cursing, said: "What sort of one
Art thou, who ratest others in such wise?"

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"Now who art thou," he answered, "who dost go
Through Antenora, smiting others' cheeks,
So that, if thou wert living, all too hard
The blow would be?" "Alive," my answer was,
"I am, and of advantage it may be
To thee, if fame thou askest, that I place
Thy name among my other notes." "I crave
The contrary," he answered: "get thee hence,
And pester me no more: for in this plain
Thou poorly knowest how to flatter." Then
I seized upon him by the scalp behind,
And said: "Thou needs must name thyself, or else
Upon thee here a hair shall not remain."
Wherefore to me: "Although thou tear away
My hair, I will not tell thee who I am,
Nor show it to thee, though a thousand times
Thou stumble on my head." I had his hair
Already twisted in my hand, and had
Wrenched out more than one lock of it, the while
He barked, and fastened downward kept his eyes;
When cried another: "What doth ail thee, Bocca?
Does not the chattering with thy jaws suffice
For thee, but thou must also bark? What fiend
Is plaguing thee?" "Now, traitor curst," I said:
"No words I want from thee, for to thy shame
I will concerning thee true tidings bear."
"Be off!" he answered: "tell whate'er thou wilt;
But be not silent, if thou gettest out
From here, concerning him who had his tongue
Just now so prompt. He is lamenting here
The silver of the French: thus thou canst say:
'I saw that one from Duera, there where are
The sinners in the cool.' Shouldst thou be asked
Who else was there, thou hast beside thee him

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Of Beccheria, he whose gorge was slit
By Florence. Farther on there is, I think,
Gianni de' Soldamier, with Ganelon,
And Tribaldello, who Faenza's gates
Opened while it was sleeping." We from him
Already had departed, when I saw
Two frozen in one hole, so that a hood
One head was to the other: and as bread
Is munched for hunger, so the upper one
His teeth fixed on the other where the brain
Joins itself to the nape. Not otherwise
Did Tydeus Menalippus's temples gnaw
For rage, than he was doing to the skull
And the adjoining parts. "Thou who by sign
So bestial, showest hatred upon him
Whom thou art eating, tell me why," I said,
"With this agreement, that if thou complain
Against him with good reason, I who know
Both who ye are and his offence, may yet
Requite thee for it in the world above,
If that with which I speak be not dried up."

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CANTO XXXIII

Count Ugolino relates the story of his imprisonment in the Hunger-Tower at Pisa, and of the starvation of himself and his children. An apostrophe to Pisa. The poets pass to the third round, and find shades lying face-upward in the ice. Dante feels a wind, and asks whence it comes; and is told that he will soon see for himself. Friar Alberigo explains how the bodies of certain shades in Tolomea are still living on earth, but occupied by a demon.

That sinner lifted from his savage meal
His mouth, and wiped it on the hairs which were
Upon the head he had despoiled behind.
Then he began: "Thou wilt that I renew
The hopeless sorrow which weighs down my heart
Already, while I only think, before
I speak of it. But if these words of mine
Are to be seed which for the traitor whom
I gnaw, shall yield the fruit of infamy,
Together thou shalt see me speak and weep.
I know not who thou art, nor by what mode
Down hither thou art come; but verily,
Thou, when I hear thee, seem'st a Florentine.
Count Ugolino, thou must know, I was,
And this one was Ruggieri the archbishop:
Now I will tell thee what the reason is
That I am such a neighbor. Need is none
To say that I, confiding in him, was,
By the effect of his malicious wiles,
Made prisoner, and after put to death.
But that which thou canst not have heard, to wit,
How cruel was my death, thou now shalt hear,
And know if he has wronged me. In the cage

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The which the title 'Hunger' bears from me,
And wherein others yet must be confined,
A narrow chink had shown me many moons
Already through its opening, when I dreamed
The evil dream, which of the future rent
The veil for me. This man appeared to me
Master and lord, chasing the wolf and whelps,
Upon the mountain which conceals the view
Of Lucca from the Pisans. He had put
Before him at the front with bitch-hounds gaunt
And keen and trained, Gualandi with Sismondi,
And with Lanfranchi. Weary seemed to me,
In a brief course, the father and the sons,
And ripped with the keen fangs methought I saw
Their flanks. When I before the dawn awoke,
I in their slumber weeping heard my sons
Who were with me, and asking for some bread.
Thou art right cruel if thou dost not grieve
Already at the thought of what my heart
Foreboded: and if tears thou dost not shed,
What are thou wont to weep for? They were now
Awake, and near the hour was drawing when
Our food was usually brought to us,
And each one's heart, by reason of his dream,
Misgave him: and I heard them nailing up,
Below, the entrance to that dreadful tower;
Whereat, into the faces of my sons
I gazed without a word. I did not weep;
So like a stone I had become within:
They wept; and my poor little Anselm said:
'Father, thou lookest so! What aileth thee?'
For that I shed no tear, nor all that day,
Nor the night after, did I make reply,
Till the next sun came forth into the world.

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Soon as a little gleam had found its way
Into the doleful dungeon, and I saw
On the four faces my own very look,
Both of my hands for agony I bit.
And thinking that I did it from desire
Of eating, suddenly they rose, and said:
'Father, it will be far less pain to us,
If thou wilt eat of us: with this poor flesh
Thou clothedst us, and do thou strip it off.'
I calmed me then, not to increase their woe:
That day we all were silent, and the next:
Ah, why, thou cruel earth, didst not thou gape?
After that we were come to the fourth day,
Gaddo at full length flung him at my feet,
Saying: 'My father, why dost not thou help me?'
Here he expired: and as thou seest me,
Between the fifth day and the sixth, I saw
The three fall, one by one: whence I, now blind,
Betook myself to groping over each,
And after they were dead I called on them
Two days: then stronger than my sorrow proved
My fasting." When he had said this, again,
With eyes askew, he seized the wretched skull
With teeth, which were as strong upon the bone
As are a dog's. Ah, Pisa! thou reproach
Of those who people the fair country where
The *si* is heard,—whereas thy neighbors are
So dilatory in thy punishment,
Let the Caprara and Gorgona shift,
And dam the Arno at its mouth, that so
Within thee it may drown each soul. For though
Count Ugolino was, by common fame,
Charged with betrayal of thy fortresses,
Thou to such torture shouldst not have exposed

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His sons. Their youthful age made innocent,
Thou new Thebes! Uguccione and Brigata,
With the two others, whom above, my song
Mentions by name. Still farther on we went,
To where the ice with its rough clasp enswathes
Another folk, not downward turned, but all
Reversed. Their very weeping there forbids
Their weeping, and the grief which finds a bar
Upon their eyes, turns inward to increase
Their anguish: for their first tears form a lump,
And all the hollow underneath the brow
Fill, like a crystal visor. And although,
As from a callus, in my face had ceased
All feeling to abide because of cold,
It now appeared to me as though I felt
Some wind; whereat I said: "My Master, who
Sets this in motion? Is not, here below,
All vapor at an end?" Whence he to me:
Thou soon wilt be there where thine eye will give the
Answer concerning this, as thou shalt see
The cause that showers the blast. And cried to us
One of the wretches of the icy crust:
"O souls so cruel that the final place
Has been assigned to you, from off my face
Remove the rigid veils, that I may vent,
A little, the distress which fills my heart,
Before the weeping is again congealed."
Whence I to him: "If thou desirest me
To come and help thee, tell me who thou art;
And if I do not free thee, be my lot
To go down to the bottom of the ice."
He answered then: "I am Friar Alberigo;
I am that one of the bad garden's fruit,
Who for a fig do here get back a date."

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"O," said I, "now art thou already dead?"
And he to me: "How in the world above
My body fares, no knowledge I receive.
This Tolomea has such privilege,
That oft the soul down hither falls, before
Atropos sets it moving. And that thou
Mayst from my face scrape off more willingly
The tear-drops glazed, know thou that from the soul,
As soon as it betrays, just as I did,
Its body by a fiend is rapt away,
Who governs it thenceforth, until its time
Has all revolved. Into a well like this
It headlong falls; and still, perhaps, appears
On earth the body of that shade which here
Winters behind me. If thou art come down
But now, he should be known to thee: he is
Ser Branca d'Oria, and many years
Are passed since he was thus shut up." "I think,"
Said I to him, "thou art deceiving me:
For Branca d'Oria is not yet dead,
And eats, and drinks, and sleeps, and puts on clothes."
"Within the Malebranche's trench above,
Where boils the sticky pitch," he said, "not yet
Had Michel Zanche come, when this man here,
In his own place, in his own body, left
A devil, as did one, his kinsman, who
Together with him wrought the treachery.
But now thy hand reach hither, and unclose
My eyes for me:" and I did not for him
Unclose them, and to be a churl to him
Was courtesy. Ah Genoese! ye men
Estranged from all good habit, and replete
With every vice, why are ye from the world
Not scattered? for I found, in company

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With the worst spirit of Romagna, one
Such that already for his work he is,
In soul, bathed in Cocytus, and on earth,
In body still he seems to be alive.

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CANTO XXXIV

The fourth and final round of the ninth circle, and the bottom of Hell. Dante discerns the dim outline of Lucifer's form, and approaches the arch-fiend. Description of Lucifer. The poets, grasping his shaggy sides, descend to the centre of gravity, and passing it, ascend, and finally emerge into the light of day.

"*Vexilla Regis prodeunt inferni*
Toward us: therefore look before and see
If thou discernest him," my Master said.
As, when a thick mist breathes, or when to night
Our hemisphere is darkening, a mill,
Turned by the wind, appears from far away,
Such was the structure then I seemed to see:
Then for the wind I drew behind my Guide,
Because there was no other shelter there.
I now was, (and I put it into verse
With fear), where wholly covered were the shades,
And like a straw in glass were showing through.
Some prone are lying, others are erect,
This with the head, and that one with the soles;
Another, like a bow, bends face to feet.
When we were so far forward that to me
It was my Master's pleasure to point out
The creature, once with the fair semblance graced,
He from before me moved and made me stop,
Saying: "See, there is Dis! and there the place
Where it behoves thee to equip thyself
With fortitude." How frozen and how weak
I then became, O reader, do not ask,
For I record it not, because all speech
Would go for little. I died not, nor yet

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Did I remain alive: now for thyself
Think, if thou hast a single shred of wit,
What I became when of the two deprived.
The sovereign of the melancholy realm
Forth from the ice issued at middle-breast;
And better with a giant I compare,
Than with his arms the giants: now observe
How huge must be that whole which corresponds
To such a part. If he was once so fair
As he is ugly now, and raised his brows
Against his Maker, rightly should all woe
Proceed from him. How great the marvel seemed
To me, when I beheld upon his head
Three faces, one in front, of crimson hue;
Two were the others, which were, just above
The middle of each shoulder, joined to this,
Uniting at the place where is the crest;
And between white and yellow seemed the right;
That on the left appeared like those that come
From where the Nile descends. Beneath each one
Two great wings issued, as so great a bird
Befitted; I have ne'er beheld sea-sails
So huge. They had not feathers, but were like
In fashion to a bat's; and these he flapped,
So that three winds proceeded from him, whence
Cocytus all was frozen: with six eyes
He wept, and tears and bloody drivel dripped
Over three chins. He with his teeth was crunching,
Just like a brake, a sinner at each mouth,
So that he thus was keeping three of them
In torment. To the one in front was nought
The biting to the clawing, for the back
Sometimes remained entirely stripped of skin.
"That soul up yonder, which is suffering

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"The greatest punishment," the Master said,
"Is Judas Iscariot, the one who has
His head within and plies his legs outside.
Of the remaining two who have their heads
Downward, that one who hangs from the black snout,
Dangling, is Brutus: notice how he writhes,
And utters not a word: and Cassius is
The other, who appears so large of limb.
But rising is the night again; and now
We must depart, for we have seen the whole."
As he desired, I clasped his neck, and he
Advantage took of time and place: and when
The wings were opened wide, the shaggy sides
He clutched, and then from tuft to tuft went down
Between the matted hair and frozen crusts.
When we were at the point where turns the thigh
Just on the thickness of the haunch, my Guide,
With struggle and with gasping, turned his head
Where he had had his legs, and on the hair
Grappled, like one that climbs, so that I thought
That we were going back to Hell once more.
Panting, as one fatigued, the Master said:
"Cling fast, for by such stairs we must depart
From so great evil." After that, he passed
Out through the opening of a rock, and placed
Me on the edge to sit: and then toward me
He stretched his wary step. I raised my eyes,
And thought I should see Lucifer, as I
Had left him, and I saw him holding there
His legs turned upward. And the dullards, who
Do not perceive the nature of that part
Which I had passed, may fancy if I then
Became perplexed. "Rise up," the Master said,
"Upon thy feet: the way is long, and bad

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The road, and now half-way to the third hour
The sun returns." It was no palace-hall
Wherein we were, but natural dungeon, formed
With an uneven floor and scanty light.
When I was risen, "Master mine," I said,
"Before I pluck myself from the abyss,
To draw me out of error, speak to me
A little. Say, where is the ice? and he—
How is he thus fixed upside down? and how
From eve to morning in so short a time
Has the sun made his transit?" He to me:
"Thou fanciest thyself still on that side
The centre, where I seized upon the hair
Of yonder evil worm that bores the world.
Thou wast, so long as I was going down,
On that side: when I turned me, thou didst pass
The point to which from every part the weights
Are drawn: and thou art now arrived beneath
The hemisphere directly opposite
To that which the great continent o'erspreads,
And underneath whose zenith there was slain
The man who without sin was born and lived.
Thou hast thy feet upon a little round
Which forms the other face of the Giudecca.
Here it is morning when 'tis evening there:
And he who made a ladder with his hair
For us, still fixed remains as first he was.
From heaven he fell down upon this side:
And for the fear of him the earth, which erst
On this side rose, made of the sea a veil,
And to our hemisphere betook itself;
And to escape from him, perhaps, that land
Which on this side appears, here vacant left
Its place, and upward fled." There is a place

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Below there, from Beelzebub removed
Far as his tomb extends, which is not known
By sight, but by a brooklet's sound, that here
Descends along the hollow of a rock
Which it has eaten with its course that winds,
And slopes a little. On that hidden road
Entered my Guide and I, that so we might
Return to the bright world: and without care
Of having any rest, we mounted up,
He first, and second I, until I saw
Some of the beauteous things which heaven bears,
Through a round opening, and forth from this
We issued, to behold the stars again.

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NOTES ON THE TEXT

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

DANTE'S WORKS.

Inf.	Inferno.
Purg.	Purgatorio.
Par.	Paradiso.
Conv.	Convivio.
De Mon.	De Monarchia.
De Vulg. El.	De Vulgari Eloquentia.
V. N.	Vita Nuova.

GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS.

Hom.	Homer.
Il.	Homer's Iliad.
Od.	Homer's Odyssey.
Verg.	Vergil.
Aen.	Vergil's Aeneid.
Ecl.	Vergil's Eclogues.
Geor.	Vergil's Georgics.
Ov.	Ovid.
Metam.	Ovid's Metamorphoses.
Ars Am.	Ovid's Ars Amatoria.
Soph.	Sophocles.
Phars.	Lucan's Pharsalia.
Theb.	Statius's Thebaid.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Wisd.	Apocryphal Book of "The Wisdom of Solomon."
Lit.	Literally.
Cron.	Chronicle of Villani.

References to the Inferno and Purgatorio are made to the line-numbers of this translation.

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CANTO I

The date assumed by Dante for the vision is 1300 A.D., on Good Friday, April 8th, at which time he enters on his journey. The time occupied in passing through the circles of Hell is about twenty-four hours; and twenty-one hours are consumed in ascending from Lucifer to the surface of the Southern Hemisphere. At 4 A.M. on Easter day he emerges with Vergil on the shore of Purgatory.

1. **Midway.** In the thirty-fifth year of his age. Dante says (Conv. iv, 23) that human life proceeds in the figure of an arch, ascending and descending; and that in perfect natures the highest point of this arch would be in the thirty-fifth year.

2. **I found myself.** Some translators render: "I came to myself," but the ideas are substantially the same.

forest dark. Allegorically, the life of sin and worldliness. In Conv. iv, 24, Dante speaks of "the wood of error of this life." Comp. Purg. xxiii, 119 ff.

3. **The right road.** Not the straight or direct road, but in a moral sense: the path of right or righteousness.

8. **The good.** His meeting with Vergil, and his consequent conversion from the error of his ways.

9. **the other things.** The hill, the beasts, his effort to climb the hill, his repulse, and his blundering at the foot of the hill. He would fain avoid telling of these painful things, but will relate them in order to set forth the "good" which he found among them.

14. **an ascent.** Allegorically, the life of faith and virtue which one must mount with toil and patience.

15. **that valley.** The low ground at the foot of the hill, probably including the forest.

17. **that planet's rays.** The sun was regarded as one of the planets. Allegorically, the light of divine grace which irradiates the life of virtue.

21. **my heart's lake.** The heart is called a lake as being the receptacle of the blood.

22. **from the deep comes panting forth.** Comp. Hom. Od. xxiii, 234 ff.

24. **still speeding onward.** Although safe for the moment, his mind so strongly retained the impression of his recent terror, that it kept flying on as if still pursued by it. Augustine says: "Fear is the flight of the mind." Comp. Butler, "Hudibras," iii, 3, 64:

> "His fear was greater than his haste:
> For fear, though fleeter than the wind,
> Believes 'tis always left behind."

31. **a pard.** The three beasts were suggested by Jer. v, 6. Comp.

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Hos. xiii, 7. The panther is the symbol of lust. Some interpreters find in the spotted hide a political reference to Florence with its two factions, the "Whites" and the "Blacks." Lust is one of the chief opposers of the ascent to virtue. Comp. Inf. xvi.

37. **those stars.** The constellation of Aries, marking the early Spring. It was the belief of both classical and mediæval writers that the world was created in the Spring, at the vernal equinox.

40. **awoke in me, etc.** The order of thought is: "The morning hour and the pleasant season were to me cause of good hope concerning that beast with the dappled skin."

43. **a lion.** Allegorically, pride. Some add, the royal house of France.

46. **the air appeared afraid.** Comp. Hen. V. Chorus:

"That did affright the air at Agincourt."

So Ovid (Metam. xiii, 406) of Hecuba, changed into a dog. "She terrified the foreign air with her strange barking." Also Tennyson, "Godiva":

"And all the low wind hardly breathed for fear."

47. **a she-wolf.** Avarice. According to some, the Papal court. Comp. Purg. xx, 11.

58. **the sun is mute.** For a similar interchange of the terms for sight and hearing, comp. Inf. v, 29.

59. **blundering.** Not "hastening" or "falling." In his blind terror he was blundering or stumbling at the bottom of the ascent. Comp. Prov. iv, 19, which is quoted Conv. iv, 7, 5; and the word "stumble" is translated by the verb used in this passage.

61. **faint.** The shade, instead of coming at once to Dante's assistance, preserved a long silence, which Dante interpreted as an evidence of weakness or faintness. The word *fioco* is often and wrongly rendered "hoarse." Comp. Inf. iii, 72. As Vergil is the symbol of human reason at its best, the allegorical sense seems to be: "the voice of my better reason had been so long unheard, that it appeared to me to have grown feeble."

65. **Lombards.** In the mouth of Vergil this term is an anachronism. The region now known generally as Lombardy was called Gallia Cisalpina until the time of the second Roman Triumvirate (B.C. 42–31), when it was included under the general name of Italy. At the time of the birth of Christ, the Langobardi (afterward Lombards) were dwelling on the southern shore of the Baltic. The Lombard invasion of Italy under Alboin was not until 568 A.D. The change of name from Langobardia to Lombardia was not definitely recognized until after 1200 A.D.

66, 67. **Though late, sub Julio.** This is an error if it means that Vergil was born when Julius Caesar was at the head of the state. Julius Caesar was born 100 B.C., and died 19 B.C. At the time of Vergil's birth he had not attained to great eminence. But Dante probably expresses the common mediæval belief that Julius Caesar was the first Roman Emperor. The Latin phrase, used because it marks a date of Roman history, is too formal and stately to mean

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merely "in the time of Julius." "Though late" can hardly mean that Vergil was born late in the life of Caesar, for he was born twenty-six years before Caesar's death: but probably that he was born too late for literary eminence during Caesar's life.

76. **Vergil.** Next to Dante himself, Vergil plays the most prominent part in the Commedia. In the present passage he says that his parents were of Mantua; and in Inf. ii, 58, Beatrice addresses him as "Mantuan soul." The familiar inscription said to have been placed upon his tomb, begins "Mantua me genuit" ("Mantua gave me birth"): and in Inf. xx, the appearance of the shade of Manto, the Theban prophetess, calls out from Vergil the graphic account of the origin of the city of Mantua, in order that Dante may be able to correct false reports which he intimates have been circulated on this subject. He speaks of it with affection as his city, and says, "I was born there." Comp. also Purg. vi, 74.

As a fact, however, Vergil's birthplace was Andes or Pietola, three miles southeast of Mantua. Dante mentions Pietola in Purg. xviii, 88–89, declaring that it is more renowned in being Vergil's native place than Mantua itself.

As the principal poet of the Roman Empire, which was to Dante a divine institution, Dante regarded Vergil's writings as inspired, though in a lower sense than the Scriptures. In De Mon. ii, 3, he is quoted along with Scripture as "our divine poet"; in Conv. iv. 4, 4, he is quoted as "speaking in the power of God." Comp. also Inf. x, 4, and Purg. xxii, 68–77, where Statius declares that next to God, Vergil enlightened him concerning the true faith. His poetic genius made him Dante's literary master and model. This appears not only from the numerous quotations, but from the multitude of instances in which the matter of the Commedia is drawn from the Aeneid or shaped by it. If Dante was as familiar with the Eclogues and Georgics as with that poem, he gives little evidence of it; but thorough as was his acquaintance with the Aeneid (see Inf. xx, 120-121), there are instances in which he seems to have been dependent, not upon the poem itself, but upon the commentary of Servius, a celebrated Latin grammarian of the fifth century.

In the Commedia his name is adorned with over seventy epithets or descriptions, laudatory or affectionate, such as "the most illustrious Poet," "the sweet Poet," "the illustrious Teacher," "my good Guide," "my wise Master," "my sweet Father," "that noble Sage who knew everything," "the Magnanimous," etc., etc.

In the Middle Ages the knowledge of the literary treasures and authors of classical antiquity had become dim and confused: and although Vergil was still recognized as the composer of the Aeneid, he had come to be regarded as a sort of legendary character, and to be known chiefly as a great magician. This was partly owing to a vague popular remembrance of the story of Aeneas's descent into Hell, which forms the subject of the sixth book of the Aeneid, and partly to the belief that his fourth Eclogue was a heathen prophecy of the birth of Christ.

In the Commedia he is the symbol of human reason unenlightened

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by divine grace. He initiates the process of Dante's conversion by leading him through Hell and Purgatory, but is himself made to declare that reason must give place to revelation. See Purg. xviii, 50-52; xxi, 36-38; xxvii, 128-130. Accordingly, at the summit of Purgatory, he hands Dante over to Beatrice, who represents revealed truth.

82. **model.** Dante defines the word *autore* as one who is worthy of being believed and obeyed (Conv. iv, 6, 3).

97. **the Greyhound.** There is much difficulty about the explanation of this word, and the matter is still unsettled. The best authorities refer it to Can Grande della Scala. This seems to be indicated by the word "Veltro" ("greyhound"), the prefix "can" (*cane*, "hound"), and the mastiff on the Scaligers' coat-of-arms. Can Grande was Can Francesco della Scala, the third son of Alberto della Scala, lord of Verona. He was born in 1290, and died in 1329. In 1311 he became sole lord of Verona, and subsequently Imperial Vicar. He was a prominent figure in the struggles in which were engaged Vicenza, Padua, Cremona, Parma, Reggio, and Mantua. Dante refers to him in very laudatory terms in Par. xvii, commending his warlike deeds, his indifference to money and to toil, and his generosity. He dedicated the Paradiso to him. He is also supposed to be referred to in the mystical number DXV in Purg. xxxiii. His tomb is still to be seen at Verona among the well-known "tombs of the Scaligers." Whoever the personage may have been, Dante appears to see in him the coming ruler and social reformer of Italy. Can Grande was a Ghibelline, a supporter of the Imperial cause so dear to Dante. At the same time, as Mr. Tozer justly remarks, "the function assigned in this passage to the Veltro is of too wide influence to be restricted to any local potentate."

100. **Feltro and Feltro.** If the reference is to Can Grande, the two points are Feltro in Venetia, and Montefeltro in Romagna, thus indicating generally the country in which Verona is situated, and which was the scene of most of Can Grande's efforts in the Imperial cause.

101. **low-lying Italy.** According to some, "low-lying" is used ironically for "haughty." Others explain "abject, down-trodden." The phrase is doubtless a reminiscence of Aen. iii, 522, and the primary sense is geographical, although there is probably an underlying hint of the depressed condition of Italy in the thirteenth century.

103. **Camilla.** The daughter of King Metabus, who assisted Turnus the king of the Rutulians, against Aeneas, and was slain by Aruns. See Aen. xi, 535 ff. She appears in Limbo, Inf. iv, 121.

104. **Nisus and Euryalus.** Two Trojan youths who accompanied Aeneas to Italy, and perished in a night attack on the Rutulian camp. See the story in Aen. ix, 179–449.

107. **Envy.** The envy of the Devil caused the fall of man, and brought therewith into the world the sin of covetousness symbolized by the she-wolf.

113. **crying out upon the second death.** The second death is the

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state of the damned after time is no more. See Rev. xx, 14; xxi, 8. It is being cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, and therefore cannot mean total annihilation, as some hold If the verb "*gridare*," which occurs eighty times in the Commedia, means here "to invoke," or "to cry out with desire," it is the only instance of that meaning; and why should the damned invoke a worse condition? The meaning is rather "to cry out upon," to protest angrily against the fate in store.

115. **content.** The souls in Purgatory, who cheerfully endure the pains which prepare them for heavenly bliss.

119. **A spirit worthier.** Beatrice.

129. **this ill and worse.** The gloomy forest and the ills which would result from my entanglement in it.

131. **Saint Peter's gate.** The entrance to Purgatory, the keys of which are intrusted by Peter to its angelic guardian.

CANTO II

1. **dusky.** Lit., "black"; but here in the general sense of "obscure."

2. **releasing.** Reminding one of Homer's word for "eventide": "the time of unyoking cattle." Il. xvi, 779; Od. ix, 58.

all, all alone. Without human companionship, for Vergil was a spirit.

4. **the stress.** Explained by the following words: The struggle with the difficulties of the road, and the distress at beholding the torments of the damned.

7. **Muses.** In the Ep. to Can Grande § 18, Dante says that rhetoricians begin their works with an exordium; but poets add an invocation, because they require a certain divine gift from supernatural intelligences. The Muses are invoked also in Purg. i, 8, and in Par i, 13. The invocation in the Inferno appears in the second Canto, because the first is a general introduction to the whole poem. This explains why there are thirty-four Cantos in the Inferno, and only thirty-three in each of the other parts.

13. **Silvius.** The son of Aeneas by Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, king of Latium. He was born after his father's death. Aen. vi, 763-766.

14. **went to the world immortal.** Referring to Vergil's account of Aeneas's journey through the lower world, in Aen. vi.

15, 16. **If gracious—the Adversary of all evil.** The general sense is: If God was so gracious as to allow Aeneas to make this journey, considering that the Roman Empire was to proceed from his settlement in Italy, it seems wholly befitting.

23. **the holy place.** Rome was divinely ordained to be the seat not only of the Empire but of the Church.

25. **things which the cause, etc.** Things relating to the future destiny of Rome, communicated to him by Anchises. Aen. vi, 765-893.

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26. **his triumph.** His conquest of Italy, which led to the foundation of Rome, the seat of the Papacy. Here, as everywhere, Dante asserts the joint supremacy of the Church and the Empire.

29. **the 'chosen vessel.'** St. Paul. See Acts ix, 15; 2 Cor. xii, 2 ff. "Thither" does not necessarily signify that Paul visited Hell, although that was a common mediæval belief. Hence the legend of "the Vision of St. Paul." "Thither" probably means simply the eternal world. Aeneas visited not only Tartarus but the Elysian Fields.

45. **the high-minded one.** In contrast with Dante's cowardice.

53. **suspended.** In Limbo, in a state between torment and bliss. See Inf. iv.

56. **the star.** Not any special star, nor the sun, but used generically or abstractly. Practically equivalent to "the stars."

60. **so long as motion lasts.** The text of the passage is much disputed, many reading *mondo*, "the world," for *moto*, "motion." According to the former reading the meaning would be: "As long as the world shall last." According to the latter: "As long as its motion passes on into the boundless future." In Conv. i, 3, 2, Dante quotes Vergil: "Fame flourishes by activity, and acquires greatness by going onward." It is not improbable that the words here put into Beatrice's mouth were suggested by the Vergilian passage.

71. **Beatrice.** Dante, Vergil, and Beatrice are the three principal figures in the Commedia. Beatrice inspired its composition. She is the lost love of Dante's youth; she leaves her seat in Heaven and descends to Hell to rescue him from moral ruin; the prospect of seeing her stimulates and sustains him in the weary ascent of Purgatory. She is his severe mentor in the Earthly Paradise, and his companion and guide through Heaven. The questions concerning her identity, her symbolism, her very existence, have produced a literature. She is the theme of perhaps the most beautiful love-story in all literature, which is related in the Vita Nuova, the earliest of Dante's writings, composed in 1290 or 1291. She was the daughter of Folco Portinari, a Florentine noble, and was only a few months younger than Dante, who saw her for the first time in her ninth year. Nine years later he saw her again, and received her salutation. They had no intercourse beyond this. She married a wealthy banker of Florence, Simone de Bardi, and died in 1290, in her twenty-fifth year. She was the inspiration of Dante's earliest poetical efforts, and the Commedia was her apotheosis. There are three leading theories of her personality and her allegorical significance. According to the first, Dante's Beatrice is the historical Beatrice Portinari, transfigured by the poet's imagination. A modification of this view is that although she was a real person, named Beatrice and beloved by the poet, she was not Beatrice Portinari. The second theory is that Beatrice is merely a name attached by Dante to an ideal conception of womanhood, and unrelated to any living being. The third theory is that Beatrice is only an arbitrary symbol of some fact or truth, the fact or truth being the only reality. This theory assumes

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different forms according to the different conceptions of the thing symbolized.

Of these theories I accept the first, which may include features of the two others: for instance, that Beatrice was Dante's ideal of womanhood, and that she was transfigured in the Commedia into a sacred symbol of divine truth. But I hold that she was a real personage, the Beatrice of the Vita Nuova, the object of Dante's youthful passion, snatched away by an early death, and mourned by him during the rest of his life.

The literature of the subject is voluminous. Among the most notable discussions is that of Scartazzini, who, however, abandoned in part his original positions. He began by asserting the historical reality of Beatrice and her identity with Beatrice Portinari, and that she was literally the object of Dante's passion. He drifted more and more toward the ideal theory, holding that the object of Dante's affection was primarily an ideal, and finally that, whoever Beatrice may have been, she became to Dante little more than a pure symbol, representing the ideal Papacy. Gietmann, 1889, holds that the story of the Vita Nuova is a dream, attached to the poet's life by his biographers and interpreters. The subject is also treated by Kraus in his "Dante," especially in relation to the Vita Nuova and the allegorical significance of Beatrice. According to him Beatrice is an imaginary name, and the visions of the Vita Nuova are poetic fictions. Among the very latest and best summaries and discussions of the whole question is that of Dr. Edward Moore, of Oxford, in the second series of his "Studies in Dante," 1899.

76. **Lady of virtue.** *Virtu* is habitually used by Dante for "power."

77. **surpasses all, etc.** Only by the knowledge of divine truth can the thoughts of man rise above the earthly sphere.

78. **smallest orb.** The heaven of the Moon, which is next to the earth, and may be said to contain it.

86. **the vast region.** The Empyrean. Comp. Purg. xxvi, 66.

94. **your misery.** The longing without hope which characterizes Limbo.

95. **flame.** Referring to the Inferno at large, since there is no burning in Limbo.

96. **a noble lady.** Of heavenly lineage. The Virgin Mary is meant. She is the symbol of the free grace which precedes the good efforts of men, or, as it is called by theologians, "prevenient grace." So in St. Bernard's noble hymn to the Virgin, Par. xxxiii, 1 ff.:

> "Not only him who asks
> Thy bounty succors, but doth oft forerun,
> Freely, the asking."

97. **hindrance.** Which Dante has encountered in trying to climb the mount of virtue.

98, 99. **judgment—she breaks.** Mitigates the strictness of divine justice in Dante's case.

99. **Lucia.** Usually supposed to be a Christian virgin of Syra-

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cuse in the time of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305). She persuaded her mother to give all her wealth to the poor, as a thank-offering for a miraculous cure of disease. For this she was denounced to the Roman Prefect, and was condemned to suffer cruel indignities. All tortures proved powerless, and she was finally slain with the sword. This is the oldest legend, to which was added later the story that she plucked out her eyes lest they should tempt her lover, and that they were miraculously restored. She was the special patroness of sufferers from diseased eyes, and offerings of silver eyes are still to be seen in some of her churches. In devotional pictures she is represented as bearing her eyes in a dish, and carrying in her hand the awl with which they were destroyed. In other pictures she bears a flaming lamp. In the Commedia, she is the symbol of illuminating grace. In Purgatory, she conveys Dante in his sleep from the Valley of the Kings to the gate of Purgatory proper. See Purg. ix, 51-63. A few interpreters hold that by Lucia was meant St. Lucy of Florence, a nun, afterward canonized, the sister of Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, referred to in Inf. x, 122.

101. **thy faithful one.** This may imply that Lucia was Dante's patron saint. In Conv. iii, 9, 6, he says that he had wearied his eyes with too much reading, so that all the stars appeared obscured with a mist.

105. **Rachel.** Daughter of Laban, and wife of Jacob the Patriarch. Gen. xxix. She is alluded to in Inf. iv, 59, and appears in Dante's vision in Purgatory. Purg. xxvii, 98-103. She is pointed out to him in the Empyrean, with Beatrice sitting at her right. Par. xxxii, 7-9. She is the symbol of Contemplation.

106. **God's true praise.** "Many said when she passed: 'She is a marvel. Blessed be the Lord who can work thus admirably.'" V. N. xxvi.

108. **forsook the vulgar throng.** Referring to Dante's withdrawal to a life of study, that he might worthily celebrate Beatrice. V. N. xliii.

111. **the stream.** The life of the world, which is more tempestuous than the sea.

123. **the short road.** The direct route to the Hill of Virtue. Vergil led Dante by the longer way through Hell and Purgatory. Comp. Inf. i, 88-89, 110 ff.

125. **invite.** Why dost thou invite such cowardice? Others, however, assuming a different derivation of the verb, translate: "Why dost thou make a bed for," or "harbor cowardice in thy heart?"

131. **whitens.** Illumines.

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him as Boniface VIII. (See Inf. xix, 56.) Boniface committed him to prison, where he died in 1296. To Dante, with his views of the Church and of the sacredness of the papal office, Celestine's abdication was an act of treachery to mankind. Authorities, however, are not unanimous as to the reference to Celestine. Some think it is Esau, who sold his birthright; others the Emperor Diocletian who abdicated his throne in his old age; others again Vieri de' Cerchi, the feeble leader of the "White" party in Florence. It is not possible to settle the matter decisively. Dante evidently intended the shade to remain unknown. If Dante had Celestine in mind, it will be noticed that he puts him into Hell although he was canonized in 1313; but the decree of canonization was not issued until seven years after Dante's death.

67. **a crowd upon the bank.** The following description is drawn mainly from Aen. vi, 295 ff.

71. **So ready.** Comp. Aen. vi, 313-314, and see ll. 124-125.

86. **by other ports.** The port for the crossing to Purgatory, at the mouth of the Tiber. Purg. ii, 99-101. Charon means that Dante's proper route was by way of Purgatory, since he was not a condemned soul.

104. **tries to sit.** This is often translated "lags behind," or "delays." But the spirits are said (l. 71) to be eager to cross, and Charon appears to have remained in the boat. The word may mean "to sit down," "to rest one's self;" and Mr. Vernon says that the expression is quite common in Tuscany. The spirits were weary (l. 95), and were trying to sit down at ease or to lounge in the boat.

106. **detach themselves.** Lit., "lift themselves." Very beautifully describing the leaves as they detach themselves, one by one, from the branches. Ruskin says: "When Dante describes the spirits falling from the bank of Acheron as dead leaves from a bough, he gives the most perfect image possible of their utter lightness, feebleness, passiveness, and scattering agony of despair." Comp. Aen. vi, 309.

107. **sees—upon the ground.** The correct reading here is *vede*, "sees," not *rende*, "yields up." The image is beautiful of the stripped branch looking down upon its leaves scattered on the ground.

120. **complain of thee.** Charon is annoyed at the admission into Hell of an uncondemned soul. Therefore his complaint at Dante's presence imports that Dante is a "good soul."

124. **the tearful land.** Generally, the land of woe and tears. Others: "bathed with the tears of the damned."

125. **flashed.** The expression is novel: "the wind flashed forth a crimson light." Dickens, in "Our Mutual Friend," writes: "The light snowfall was falling white, while *the wind blew black*."

127. **I fell.** Dante does not cross the stream in Charon's boat, but is mysteriously transported to Limbo during his swoon.

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CANTO IV

1. **Thunder.** The collected sound of the lamentations of Hell. See l. 8.

12. **world obscure.** Lit., "blind world." The world of those deprived of the light of God and of reason.

20. **the pity.** Or "distress." But Comp. Inf. xx, 29-31, where Vergil exhibits a quite different feeling.

23. **the first circle.** Here dwell the virtuous heathen and the unbaptized infants. This is the logical outcome of Dante's view that outside of the Church is no salvation. He says (De Mon. ii, 8, 28): "No one, however perfect he may be in moral and intellectual virtues, both in habit and in action, can be saved without faith, it being supposed that he never heard of Christ. Comp. Par. xix, 70-84, xxxii, 76-84. The innocence of infants and the virtue of good Pagans are recognized only by exemption from physical torment. The only suffering is that of eternal and hopeless longing. This is strictly according to Aquinas, who declares that in Limbo there is no pain of sense, but only the pain of loss. Vergil himself is a tenant of this circle (l. 38, and Purg. vii, 22-38). It was believed that the Patriarchs were formerly there, but that they were released at the time of Christ's descent into Hades. Hence the Schoolmen divided Limbo into the Limbo of the Fathers and the Limbo of Infants. Dante is not uniformly strict or consistent in his application of this doctrine, as appears in the cases of Cato of Utica (Purg. i), Trajan (Purg. x), and Rhipeus (Par. xx), which will be considered in their places.

25. **sighs.** Comp. Purg. vii, 32.

41. **great grief.** Dante is profoundly moved by this condition. See especially the touching passage, Purg. iii, 35 ff. Sir Thomas Browne remarks: "It is hard to place those souls in Hell whose worthy lives do teach us virtue on earth; methinks among those many subdivisions of Hell there might have been one Limbo left for these" ("Religio Medici," liv).

53. **a mighty one.** The name of Christ is not uttered in Hell.

64. **the wood.** The throng of spirits.

66. **from where I slumbered.** The entrance to the first circle, where he awoke from his swoon (see l. 1). The correct reading is *sonno*, "slumber," not *sommo*, "summit."

67, 68. **a hemisphere of darkness.** The hemisphere is the half of the dark circle in which they were, the darkness of which the light overpowered.

71. **who dost adorn.** Or "honorest." Variations are sounded on the word *onor* in the succeeding lines.

80. **was departed.** On his mission to rescue Dante.

86. **Homer.** With a sword, as the poet of the Iliad, the warlike epic. Dante knew little or no Greek, and there were no Latin translations of Homer, so that his acquaintance with the bard was through the citations of Aristotle, and, in one case, through

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Horace's translation of the opening lines of the Odyssey in his "Art of Poetry." (See Conv. iv, 20, 2; De Mon. iii, 6; V. N. xxv.)

87. **Horace, moralist.** Horace, B.C. 65-68. "Moralist," not "Satirist," since Dante shows no acquaintance with Horace's Satires, and, indeed, does not seem to have known much more of his writings than the "De Arte Poetica."

88. **Ovid.** B.C. 43. A.D. 17. Dante was well acquainted with his "Metamorphoses," which are his principal mythological authority.

Lucan. A Roman poet, A.D. 39-65. Known by his "Pharsalia," an epic in ten books on the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. Dante draws from him many historical and some mythological allusions, and appears to have studied him almost as carefully as he had studied Vergil. Statius, who was also one of Dante's favorites, first appears in the Purgatorio. Of these poets Vergil is quoted, referred to, or imitated in the Commedia about two hundred times, Ovid about one hundred, Lucan fifty, and Statius thirty or forty.

91. **those lords of loftiest song.** The five poets. Some read "that lord," referring to Homer; but neither Horace nor Ovid could be classed in the school of Homer.

99. **was the sixth** Dante is not modest in asserting his own merits as a poet. Comp. Inf. i, 83-84.

103. **a grand castle.** A symbol of human science. The seven walls represent the seven virtues: Prudence, Justice, Courage, Temperance, Knowledge, Intelligence, and Wisdom. The river is Eloquence, by which the seven virtues are lauded and appeal to men. The seven gates are the seven sciences.

107. **a mead.** From Vergil, Aen. vi, 638 ff.

109. **deliberate and grave.** Comp. the description of Sordello, Purg. vi, 65.

115. **Enamel.** Strictly, glass fused with protoxide of cobalt, and used for ornamenting porcelain and earthenware, being spread on while moist, and afterward hardened by fire. Ruskin thinks that in applying this term to the grass of the Inferno, Dante means to mark "that it is laid as a tempering and cooling substance over the dark, inelastic, gloomy ground, yet so hardened by fire that it is not any more fresh or living grass, but a smooth, silent, lifeless bed of eternal green." In l. 107-108, however, he speaks of a meadow of "fresh verdure." The simile must not be pressed. Dante evidently means to describe a smooth, green surface; and as the place was "luminous," the light may have imparted to it a metallic glister. See also Purg. viii, 116, where the word *smalto* "enamel," can apply only to the green, flowery meadow at the summit of Purgatory.

118. **Electra.** Not the heroine of Sophocles and Euripides, the sister of Orestes, but the mother of Dardanus the founder of Troy. See Aen. viii, 134 ff. and comp. De Mon. ii, 3.

121. **Camilla.** See Inf. i, 104, note.

Penthesilea. Queen of the Amazons, who came to the assistance of the Trojans after the death of Hector, and was slain by Achilles. See Aen. i, 490–493.

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123. **Latinus.** King of Latium, and father of Lavinia, whom he bestowed on Aeneas, although she had been promised to Turnus.

124. **Brutus.** Lucius Junius, nephew of Tarquinius Superbus. After the outrage upon Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius, he roused the Romans to expel the Tarquins.

125. **Lucretia.** Wife of Collatinus and victim of Sextus Tarquinius. She stabbed herself to expiate her dishonor.

Julia. Daughter of Julius Caesar and wife of Pompey.

Marcia. Wife of Cato of Utica. See Purg. i, 82 ff.

Cornelia. Daughter of Scipio Africanus Major, and wife of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The mother of the Gracchi, Tiberius and Caius. On the death of her sons she declared that she who had borne them could never deem herself unhappy.

126. **Saladin.** He stands alone, apart, because he is of a remote race and country. See a similar instance, Inf. xii, 121.

128. **Master of those who know.** Aristotle. He was the oracle of the Middle Ages, and his writings, through the agency of the Schoolmen, were almost all that saved Europe from utter barbarism. The Arabians, about 813 A.D., began to translate his works, which were brought by the Saracens to the knowledge of Western Europe through the medium of Latin translations from the Arabic. He passed into the thought and writings of the Schoolmen of the thirteenth century, during which the scholastic theology reached its highest development. Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura and Aquinas were imbued with his philosophy, and his philosophical system, as modified by them, lies at the basis of the Catholic theology of to-day. It was not until the Renaissance restored to Europe the knowledge of Plato, that the popularity of Aristotle declined. For Dante, Aristotle is *the* master and philosopher. He calls him "the master of human reason;" " the master of our life;" "the master of the wise." His knowledge of his writings was extensive and thorough. He was acquainted, and often intimately, with most of his works, although he had access to them only through Latin translations. In every department of Dante's large knowledge, the foundations are laid upon Aristotle. From Aristotle comes his whole system of Physics, Physiology, and Meteorology.

131. **Plato.** Dante had a very limited knowledge of Plato, confined mainly to one dialogue—the "Timaeus," which was translated into Latin in the fifth century. Until the end of the twelfth century, all knowledge of Plato was limited to this one work.

133. **Democritus.** A Greek philosopher, B.C. 460-361. The originator of the atomic theory of creation, that the world was formed by a fortuitous aggregation of atoms. Dante alludes to his slovenly personal habits: Conv. iii, 14, 3.

134. **Diogenes.** The Cynic philosopher, B.C. 412-323. He distinguished himself by his contempt of riches and honors, exercising the most rigid abstinence and wearing the coarsest and cheapest clothes. The story of his living in a tub has little foundation.

Anaxagoras. 500 B.C. One of the earliest of the Greek philosophers. He made the first real advance toward the recognition

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of a spiritual principle or reason as the evolver of an orderly world out of chaos.

135. **Thales.** An Ionic philosopher of Miletus, B.C. 636. One of the founders of the systematic study of mathematics and philosophy in Greece. He held that water was the elemental principle of all things.

Zeno. Founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, about the end of the fourth century B.C. His pupils were called Stoics because they assembled in the Painted Porch (*stoa*) of Polygnotus.

Empedocles. A philosopher of Sicily, B.C. 450. He was said to have thrown himself into the crater of Aetna, in order that, by his disappearance, he might be taken for a god.

136. **Heraclitus.** A Greek philosopher of Ephesus, B.C. 510. He held that fire was the primary form of all matter.

137. **gatherer of qualities.** Dioscorides of Cilicia, a Greek physician of the first century A.D. He collected information on the medicinal qualities of plants, and wrote a work on that subject.

138. **Orpheus.** A mythical poet of Greece who was said to move rocks and trees by the music of his lyre. He accompanied the Argonauts on their voyage in quest of the golden fleece. The story of his descent to Hell to recover his dead wife, Eurydice, is familiar.

Tully. Marcus Tullius Cicero. Dante frequently quotes or derives his matter from him. He shows little or no familiarity with Cicero's Orations, and draws mostly on three treatises, the "De Officiis," the "De Senectute," and the "De Amicitia." The passages used are found mostly in Dante's prose works.

Seneca. Dante shared the mediæval error that Seneca the moralist and Seneca the writer of tragedies were different persons. He adds the epithet "moral" in order to designate Lucius Annacus Seneca (B.C. 4–A.D. 65), who was Aero's tutor, and who committed suicide by that Emperor's command. He was the author of numerous philosophical works, and of tragedies, nine of which are extant.

139. **Linus.** A mythical Greek poet, a son of Apollo by a Muse.

Euclid. A Greek mathematician of Alexandria, B.C. 300.

140. **Galen.** A celebrated physician of Asia, A.D. 130-200. He acquired great renown at Rome as physician to several of the Emperors. He left many works on medical and philosophical subjects.

Ptolemy. See Introduction under "Dante's Cosmogony."

Hippocrates. Of Cos, B.C. 460. The Father of Medicine.

141. **Avicenna.** An Arabian philosopher and physician of Ispahan, A.D. 980-1037. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle, and condensed, arranged, and commented upon the writings of Galen.

Averroes. A distinguished Arabian scholar of the twelfth century, and the most eminent commentator on Aristotle. He was both a physician and a lawyer.

148. **that trembles.** With the blowing of the hurricane in the next circle.

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CANTO V

This is the first circle of the Incontinent.

4. **Minos.** Son of Zeus and Europa, and king of Crete. His brother was Rhadamanthus. The two brothers were appointed judges in the lower world, along with Aeacus, the son of Zeus and Aegina. Aeacus does not appear in the Aeneid. Minos is described in Aen. vi, 431-433, and Rhadamanthus in Aen. vi, 566-572. Neither Aeacus nor Rhadamanthus appear in the Commedia. Dante's Minos combines Vergil's accounts of Minos and Rhadamanthus. From the description of Minos Dante takes the position at the entrance and the function of judgment. From that of Rhadamanthus the enforced confession and the supervision of the punishment. The anomalous tail of Minos is an invention of Dante, and Dante has substituted a snarling fiend for the calm and dignified Minos of Vergil. The change is due to the Christian opinion that the Pagan deities were devils. See 1 Cor. x, 20.

17. **inn.** Ironical. A place of entertainment.

23. **also.** As Charon cried out at us.

29, 30. **of every light deprived.** Lit., "mute of all light." Comp. note on Inf. i, 58. The darkness symbolizes the blinding influence of carnal passion.

33. **sweep.** The furious motion or rush. The term is used of the movement of the Primum Mobile, in Conv. ii, 6, 7.

35. **rush.** Often explained as "the precipice," or descent into the second circle from the point where Minos sits. Rather it means "the stress" of the hurricane. Dante says: "When they come within range of the blast."

36. **they curse.** Aquinas specifies hatred of God as one of the effects of carnal lust.

37. **I understood.** Either hearing it from Vergil, or inferring it from the character of the punishment.

45. **the cranes.** Aen. x, 264-266; Hom. Il. iii, 2-6. The simile of the starlings illustrates the rushing movement; that of the cranes, the cries of the spirits. Comp. Purg. xxiv, 66 ff.; xxvi, 45 ff.

46. **plaintive cry.** The word *lai* is a Provencal term for a mournful song. Comp. Purg. ix, 13. The note of the crane is sonorous and trumpet-like, owing to the peculiar formation of the trachea.

53. **Empress.** The entire passage, 53-60, is drawn from Orosius. See Introduction under "Dante's Cosmogony."

tongues. Races or nations, although Philalethes suggests an allusion to the confusion of tongues at Babel, since Babylon was a part of the Assyrian empire. Improbable and fanciful.

55, 56. **lust she made legitimate.** Mr. Toynbee aptly cites Chaucer, "Monk's Tale," 366-367.

> "His lustes were all awe in his decree."

57. **Semiramis.** Queen of Assyria, and wife and successor of Ninus, the mythical founder of the empire of Nineveh.

58. **we read.** In Orosius, according to Dante's own statement, De Mon. ii, 9.

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60. **the Sultan rules.** In the geography of Dante's time Egypt was included in Asia. Moreover, the name Babylon was given to old Cairo, as well as to the city on the Euphrates. Dante either confused the Babylon of Semiramis with that in Egypt, or thought that the empire of Semiramis extended to Egypt, which is more probable.

61. **enamored slew herself.** Dido, who destroyed herself when abandoned by Aeneas. Aen. iv, 630-665.

62. **broke faith.** Comp. Aen. iv, 552. Becoming enamored of Aeneas, she forgot her vow to remain faithful to the memory of Sichaeus, her former husband. See Aen. i, 343 ff. As a suicide, Dido would appear to belong to the seventh circle; but she is punished only for incontinence. In Vergil's Hell there is a place for suicides (Aen. vi, 434-436), and also a place for ill-fated lovers (Aen. vi, 450). Dante's more lenient treatment may be due in part to Dido's association with the founder of the Roman Empire.

63. **Cleopatra.** Queen of Egypt, and mistress of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. She is mentioned again in Par. vi, 76-78.

Helen. The famous Helen of Troy, the wife of Menelaus, seduced by Paris, and the cause of the Trojan war.

64. **so long a time.** The ten years of the Trojan war.

65. **Achilles.** The principal hero of the Greeks in the Trojan war.

with love allied. According to the Homeric story Achilles was killed before Troy. Dante follows the mediæval account, that he was treacherously slain in the temple of Apollo at Troy, to which he had repaired to meet Polyxena who had been promised to him in marriage if he would embrace the Trojan cause. Thus Achilles, though ready to change sides in war, fought to the end on the side of love. Dante found the story in Servius's Commentary on Vergil. See note on Inf. i, 76. "In this pregnant sentence Dante sounded the whole depth of the Iliad. . . . Two passions—heroic anger and measureless love—in the breast of the chief actor are the motive forces of the poem."—J. A. Symonds, "Greek Poets."

67. **Paris.** There is some question whether Dante refers to Paris the son of Priam, or to the Paris of mediæval romance. The coupling of his name with that of Tristan might suggest the latter. But it is not uncommon to find the name of Paris of Troy associated with that of Tristan in the literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reference is clearly to Paris of Troy, the son of Priam and the seducer of Helen.

Tristan. Of Lyonesse. The story of Tristan and Isolde or Yseult is familiar.

80. **Soon as the wind, etc.** Note the consummate art with which Dante, throughout the whole of the following interview, keeps the reader continually conscious of the blowing of the wind.

84. **doves.** Drawn from Aen. vi, 213-217; comp. vi, 190-203. Lowell says: "This simile is perhaps the most exquisite in all poetry." Shelley imitates it in "Prometheus Unbound."

> "Come, as two doves to one beloved nest,
> Twin nurslings of the all-sustaining air,
> On swift, still wings glide down the atmosphere."

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longing. Affection for their home and offspring.

85. **by their own will.** Without seeming to use any means of propulsion. "The comparison of the flight of the dove is used for a very different purpose in Vergil. To it is likened a ship which, having run upon a rock, is thrust off first into the troubled waters, and then floats as smoothly over the open sea as the gliding flight of the dove. Dante has gone beyond the superficial similarity of the outward action, and has brought in all the beautiful and tender feelings suggested by the *homeward* flight of the doves. . . . One feels that, beautiful as the Vergilian passage is in its way, the resemblance of the things compared in Dante is much fuller, deeper, and more appropriate."—Dr. E. Moore, "Studies in Dante," i, 185.

90. **black.** Lit., "perse." Dante says (Conv. iv, 20, 1): "Perse is a color composed of purple and black; but the black predominates."

98. **the town.** Ravenna, on the Adriatic. It was originally only a mile from the coast. Its suburb, Classis, was an important harbor in the time of Augustus, being one of the two chief stations of the Roman fleet. Classis was at that time a large town, but the site is now a dreary marsh, and the only remaining relic is the venerable church of S. Apollinare in Classe of the sixth century, where the floor is green with the slime of the marsh, and the water sometimes fills the crypt under the high altar. Ravenna is now five miles from the sea. It was the seat of the Emperors of the West, and after the fall of the Western Empire was the capital of Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths. Later it was the residence of the Exarchs of the Byzantine Empire in Italy. It was Dante's residence in his later life, and there he died and is buried.

99. **I was born.** Francesca da Rimini the subject of this episode was the daughter of Guido Vecchio da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna (see Inf. xxvii, 42). About 1275 she married Gianciotto, the second son of Malatesta da Verruchio, Lord of Rimini. She fell in love with his younger brother, Paolo, and Gianciotto, having surprised them in their intrigue, killed them both.

100. **with his attendant streams.** In all the upper part of its course the Po receives a multitude of affluents—the Tésin, the Adda, the Oglio, the Mincio, the Trebbia, the Bormida, and the Taro.

104. **a mischief is to me.** Because I still suffer the consequences of it in Hell, and it has left a reproach attached to my name.

108. **Caïna.** The round of the ninth circle where treachery to relations is punished.

123. **There is no greater pain, etc.** "Fortune lays the plot of our adversities in the foundation of our felicities, blessing us in the first quadrate, to blast us more sharply in the last. . . . Affection smarts most in the most happy state." Sir Thomas Browne, "Christian Morals."

> "For of fortunes sharp adversitee
> The worst kinde of infortune is this,
> A man to have been in prosperitee,
> And it remembren, whan it passed is."
> CHAUCER, "Troilus and Criseyde," B. iii, 1625 ff.

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125. **this thy teacher knows.** Vergil, not Boethius; but it is impossible to say what experience is referred to.

129. **Launcelot.** Launcelot of the Lake, the lover of Guinevere at King Arthur's court. The romance was a favorite one in Dante's time. The Arthurian tales had begun to supersede, in the twelfth century, the previous legends of Charlemagne, as being better suited to a more refined feudal civilization. They appealed especially to the nobles of Northern Italy.

137. **Galeotto.** In the Romance of Launcelot, Gallehault, a knight, and a friend of Launcelot, arranged a secret meeting between him and Guinevere. See Par. xvi, 13-15. So Francesca says that the story which she and Paolo were reading together, played the part of Gallehault or intermediary.

CANTO VI

1. **On the return of sense.** Dante is conveyed into the third circle while still unconscious.

was shut up. Comp. Purg. xxxi, 88, and see note.

2. **kinsfolk.** Francesca's lover was her husband's brother.

8. **the same in rule and quality.** It does not come in gusts, but pours without intermission, unlike showers on earth, and is always heavy and cold.

9. **water foul.** Dirty water; although one of the early commentators says that it is a local phrase in Tuscany for a cold rain. Comp. l. 105.

11. **Cerberus.** Aen. vi, 417 ff.

12. **prodigious.** Strange, monstrous. Cerberus, as here portrayed, is a fitting symbol of voracity.

20. **impious.** The Italian word is *profani*. Comp. Heb. xii, 16, where Esau is called a "profane person," because he parted with his birthright in order to gratify his appetite. See also Phil. iii, 19: "Whose god is their belly."

worm. A general term for any disgusting creature. It is applied to Lucifer, Inf. xxxiv, 107.

24. **caught up earth.** In the Aeneid, the Sibyl throws Cerberus a medicated cake which puts him to sleep. Aen. vi, 419.

34. **emptiness.** Comp. Purg. ii, 77; xxi, 143.

40. **thou wast made.** Dante was born in 1265; Ciacco died in 1286.

49. **envy.** The principal cause of the Florentine factions.

51. **where shines the light.** Suggested by the contrast with the gloomy atmosphere in which the gluttons are punished. Often in the Inferno a single adjective expresses the bitter contrast with the cheering, stirring life of the upper world. See Inf. vi, 92; vii, 57; x, 83; xv, 49, 57.

53. **Ciacco.** A nickname meaning "pig." Though a notorious glutton, he is described as a man of good ability and breeding.

59. **so burdens me.** Dante is compassionate here. His dis-

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gust for the sin is shown by the punishment he assigns it. See Introductory Note on Inf. iii.

62. **the divided city.** The party struggles of Florence were twofold. One was Italian and included Florence, the other was Florentine. The more comprehensive party-division was that of Guelf and Ghibelline: the local division was that of Bianchi and Neri, or Whites and Blacks. The names Guelf and Ghibelline, as applied to parties in Italy, at an earlier period designated parties in Germany. The names were originally the family names of Welf and Waiblingen, and were first employed as battle-cries at the siege of Weinsberg in 1140, where Count Welf, the brother of Henry the Proud, was besieged by the adherents of the house of Hohenstaufen. The besieged raised the cry of "Welf" and the besiegers that of "Waiblingen," the name of the birthplace of Frederick of Suabia. These names were converted by the Italians into Guelfo and Ghibellino, and first came into prominence in Italy in the Lombard league of 1167 against the Emperor Barbarossa.

It is commonly said that the Guelfs represented the Papacy and the Ghibellines the Empire; but, as a fact, papal and imperial principles play a secondary part in the conflict. The Guelfs were the popular and democratic party, represented by the burgher-class and the trades-guilds, and standing for municipal freedom. The Ghibellines represented the territorial aristocracy, the naturalized nobles, and the idle and licentious soldiery. The Guelf was papal, because he regarded the Pope (theoretically, at least) as standing for Christ as the preacher of equality and of the best social condition for mankind. The Pope, in his turn, "naturally jealous of a strong territorial power, encouraged the cities in their resistance to imperial pretensions, while he and the merchant-bankers of Florence were indispensable to each other in the way of business." The Ghibelline was a feudalist, and the Emperor or King was the necessary and first factor of feudalism, and the only possible backer of the claims of the magnates, whom, in turn, he could use in any attempt to assert his power over the cities. Neither Pope nor Emperor had any real sympathy with the aims of either party. The real issue, in short, was between the mercantile democracy of the city and the military and territorial aristocracy.

These elements, which had long been held in solution in Italian society, were crystallized in 1215 by a feud between the Florentine families of Buondelmonte and Amidei, growing out of young Buondelmonte's breaking his marriage engagement with a lady of the Amidei family and marrying another. Buondelmonte was murdered by the Amidei, and all Florence became divided into two parties, the Guelfs under Buondelmonte and the Ghibellines supported by the Amidei.

Dante himself was originally a Guelf, but cannot be permanently identified with either party. The Commedia furnishes not a few evidences of his impartial dealing with representatives of either side, and he says equally hard things of both. The second and third books of the De Monarchia and the later cantos of the Purgatory exhibit Ghibelline leanings. His Guelfism gave way under

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the policy of Boniface VIII, and his own disappointment in the case of Henry of Luxemburg; and these and the events of 1311-1313 threw him decidedly on the imperial side. In Par. xvii, 68, Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather, predicts his course, and declares that the atrocious dealings of the Whites will cause him to form a party by himself.

The Bianchi and Neri (Whites and Blacks) were the parties of a local faction which originated in Pistoia in a feud between two branches of the Cancellieri family, which assumed respectively the names of Cancellieri Bianchi and Cancellieri Neri. The quarrel drew into itself the whole of Pistoia, and resulted in a civil war, in which the Florentines intervened, and thereby transferred it to their own city, where the opposite sides were espoused by two rival Florentine families, the Donati (Blacks) and the Cerchi (Whites). Both sides were originally Guelf; but the Whites finally deserted to the Ghibellines. Dante was identified with the Whites.

66. **will come to blood.** The first blood was shed May 1, 1300, in a scuffle in which one of the Cerchi had his nose cut off. The story is told by Villani, Cron. viii. 39.

67. **the rustic party.** The Bianchi. So called because of the rustic origin and boorish ways of the Cerchi, who were new-comers in Florence. Villani says: "They were uncultivated and ungracious people, like folk come in a short time to great estate and power."

71. **tacking, off the coast.** Boniface VIII, who in 1300 professed neutrality between the Bianchi and Neri, and in 1302 supported Charles of Valois. Others think the reference is to Charles, who at this time was in Flanders. Villani uses the word "coasting" to express temporizing.

75. **who are just.** Who are meant is unknown.

81. **Farinata.** See Inf. x.

81, 82. **Tegghiaio, Rusticucci, Mosca.** See Inf. xvi, xxviii.

89. **a different transgression.** From that which is punished in this circle.

92, 93. **to memory of men.** The only comfort which the damned have is the hope that their memory may be perpetuated on earth. See Inf. xiii, 77; xv, 118-120. Some, however, whose crimes have incurred general execration, wish to remain unremembered. See Inf. xviii, 47-58; xxvii, 63-66, and the traitors in the ninth circle.

111. **thy science.** The Aristotelian philosophy.

116. **more than in this one.** After the final trump of doom, because they will then possess both bodies and souls.

119. **Plutus.** The god of wealth; the guardian of the fourth circle. He is called "the great Enemy," because of the evils caused by the love of money. See 1. Tim. vi, 10. Others think the reference is to Pluto, known also as Dis or Hades, the god of the nether world; but Lucifer is called Dis in Inf. viii, 71; xi, 70; xii, 39; xxxiv, 20. In classical authors the attributes of Plutus are occasionally given to Pluto. The name Plutus rarely occurs in the classics, and could not have been well known to mediæval writers. It does not seem likely that Dante intended to use "Pluto" here in the usual classical sense as the King of Hell.

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CANTO VII

The fourth circle is the third of the Incontinent. It must be remembered that Incontinence is not to be understood merely in the narrow, popular sense of the word, as unbridled indulgence in sensual passion, but in the wide sense indicated by its etymology, the want of self-containment or control. The incontinent yield to impulse without restraint, whether the impulse is to sensual pleasure, to inordinate eating and drinking, to anger, or to acquiring or spending money. Such offences differ from those which are deliberately determined and practised, and their punishment is less severe than that of deliberate sins.

1. **Pape Satan, etc.** Mere brutal gibberish. Attempts to translate it, which have been numerous, are a waste of ingenuity.

11. **proud rape.** The revolt of the rebel angels against God. The phrase will not seem strange to anyone who is familiar with the scriptural figures. See Jer. iii, 8, 9; Ezek. xxiii, 37; Mat. xii, 39; Mark viii, 38.

12, 13. **sails—collapse.** What a picture of sudden and utter collapse!

16. **making our way along, etc.** Lit., "taking more of the bank." Going farther on.

22. **Charybdis.** The real Charybdis was a rock between Italy and Sicily. In fable it was the abode of Charybdis, a monster which thrice each day swallowed the waters of the sea, and as often cast them up. Facing Charybdis, and nearer to Italy, was another rock containing a cave in which dwelt Scylla, a monster with twelve feet and six heads surmounting long necks.

which breaks itself, etc. The line describes the meeting of two opposite currents.

24. **dance.** Ironical. *Ridda* is a contra-dance accompanied with singing.

25. **rolling weights.** The weights represent the burden imposed alike by avarice and by prodigality. The miser is oppressed with efforts to gain and hoard, the spendthrift by the lack of means to supply his extravagance.

27. **kept clashing.** The misers and the prodigals form two companies, each of which moves round half the circle in the direction opposite to the other. When they meet, each company turns and goes the other way, until they meet again and clash together like opposing tides.

29. **crying, why holdest, etc.** The miser feels himself wronged by the spendthrift's extravagance; the spendthrift by the miser's parsimony.

34. **tilt.** The image is changed from a dance to a tourney. Both are ironical.

39. **each and all of them.** Both bands, for both had misused money.

41. **barks.** When they say, "Why holdest? etc."

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50. **cherishest.** The original word means to bring several things into one; to collect a number of facts into a definite judgment.

51. **undiscerning.** These people failed to discern the true end of life in the world, and the right use of worldly possessions.

52. **to every recognition dark.** Avarice is the vice for which Dante exhibits the most profound contempt. In Purg. xx, 9, 10, he describes it as "the evil which possesses the whole world." He handles it severely in many passages in the Convito. See, for instance, iv, 12, 4. "And what other thing daily imperils and destroys cities, neighborhoods, individuals, like the amassing of new possessions by some one? Which accumulation inspires fresh desires impossible to fulfil without injury to others." And again, iv, 13, 4, 6. "We may see that the possession of riches is harmful for two reasons: first, that it is the cause of evil; secondly, that it is the privation of good. It is the cause of evil because it makes the possessor wakeful, timid, and hateful. What fear is his who carries riches about him, whether walking or resting, awake or asleep, not only that he will lose his gains, but that he will be lost for the sake of his gains." Accordingly, both in the Inferno and in the Purgatorio, Dante represents the avaricious as unrecognisable. The greed of gain which absorbs their faculties destroys their individuality. It reduces them all to one level. Besides this passage, see Inf. xvii, 52 ff., where the usurers can be identified only by the purses round their necks, decorated with their armorial bearings, on which their eyes are fixed. In Purgatory, those who are expiating this sin are lying face downward, chained and incapable of motion. Purg. xix, 76, 120 ff. On the opposite vice of prodigality, and the punishment of the two vices in one cricle, comp. the words of Statius in Purg. xxii, 33-56.

55. **hair cut short.** An Italian proverb describes a prodigal as one who has squandered up to his hair. Comp. Purg. xxii, 48.

60. **gust.** The primary meaning of the word is "vanity," "emptiness." Some render "jest" or "farce."

73. **guides.** In the following celebrated passage which is derived from Boethius, Dante represents Fortune as an Intelligence ordained by God, which orders human affairs as the angelic orders direct the motions of the heavens.

86. **no truce.** Fortune does not make terms with men, as contending armies when they agree to a temporary suspension of hostilities. On the incessant rising and falling of great families, see Par. xvi, 73-84.

88. **so often someone comes, etc.** So often comes one who wins his turn or has good luck. Because Fortune moves so swiftly, the succession is rapid of those who come into her favor.

90. **crucified.** Execrated. The phrase is quite common in Tuscany. The meaning is "to censure with curses."

100. **we crossed.** Lit., "we cut off." Instead of going round the fourth circle, they cut across to "the other bank," which begirds the fifth circle, to a point above a fountain or spring which discharges its waters through a trench into the fifth circle. They are standing on higher ground than the spring, and see it at their

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feet. Before this they have been skirting the edge of the high bank, but now they strike inward, and begin descending, parallel with the trench, into the fifth circle.

103. **perse.** See note on Inf. v, 90.

106. **gray slopes.** Benvenuto compares the color to that of a black monastic habit, subnigrum or blackish.

108. **Styx.** See Aen. vi, 323-324. The name is akin to the Greek verb meaning "to hate." According to Homer and Vergil, it flows seven times round the nether world. In classic mythology it is personified as a daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, who dwelt in a lofty grotto supported by silver columns, at the entrance of Hades. The most solemn oaths were sworn by Styx. By Dante Styx is pictured as a marsh of black mire; an idea derived from Vergil, who describes it as the "Stygian marsh," and "the Stygian lakes." Comp. Aen. vi, 323, 369; vi, 134.

109. **bog.** Mr. Hodgkin ("Italy and her Invaders," i, 853) thinks that the picture of this marsh may have been shaped or suggested by the rice-swamp which extends over the site of the ancient Classis, between Ravenna and the sea. See note on Inf. v, 98.

115. **anger overcame.** In the mud of this fen anger is punished; violent anger on the surface, and sullen or sulky anger in the mire at the bottom.

121. **we were morose.** Sullen wrath beclouds the spirit. Like a dense smoke it perverts the mental and moral vision, and shuts out all right impressions of truth and goodness. Self-centred, it smoulders in its own sluggish medium. Hence the appropriateness of the punishment which condemns the soul to an eternal environment of mire. Comp. Wisd. xvii, 21.

123. **sluggish.** In this adjective many interpreters find an indication of a distinct sin—Spiritual Sloth and Indifference. Such assume that the classification of sins in the Inferno is identical with that in the Purgatorio, both being intended as classifications of the seven deadly sins. But, not to speak of the difference of arrangement, in the Purgatorio more than half the special sins treated in the Inferno are omitted altogether, and the correspondence can be established only by finding the omitted sins included in the circles which are distinctly assigned to others. Thus it is asserted that Envy is found in the fifth circle (Inf. vii, 121; viii, 63); Pride in the fifth, sixth, or seventh (Inf. viii, 48; ix, 93; xiv, 62). So it is maintained that Spiritual Slothfulness, which is one of the seven sins expiated in Purgatory, is indicated by "the sullen smoke." But the state of sullen wrath described here has little in common with Spiritual Slothfulness. The sins are arranged according to their gravity: those of the Purgatorio in inverse order to those of the Inferno. In the Purgatorio, Spiritual Slothfulness is higher up than Anger, and is therefore less grave. In the Inferno it is lower than Anger, and therefore more grave. In the Purgatory Spiritual Slothfulness is lower and graver than Avarice. If the former appears in the Inferno, it is higher and less grave than Avarice. Moreover, if Spiritual Slothfulness is here indi-

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cated as a vice distinct from Anger, we have two distinct sins punished in one circle with the same punishment. It seems better to abandon the attempt to make the classification of the Inferno and of the Purgatorio correspond, and to see in this circle, not Anger and Spiritual Slothfulness, but two forms of anger—violent and sullen. (For the substance of this note I am indebted to Dr. Moore.)

126. **slough.** In Tuscany *pozza* means every kind of collection of waters—pool, pond, lake, lagoon, fen, etc.

CANTO VIII

1. **Continuing.** Continuing the subject of the previous canto. Some, however, think that the word indicates Dante's resumption of his work on the Commedia after a considerable interval of his exile. The story is that the manuscript of the first seven cantos was recovered by Dante's nephew from the chest in which Dante had deposited them, and was handed to a well-known literary man, who, in turn, sent it to the nobleman with whom Dante was residing at the time, begging him to induce the poet to continue his work. Much doubt, however, has been cast upon the story by later scholars, such as Blanc, Scartazzini, and Kraus.

4. **two little flames.** Signal lights, notifying the city of Dis that two spirits are about to cross the Styx.

5. **from so far.** From the city of Dis. The whole scene is thoroughly mediæval; the walled city surrounded by a moat, the signal-towers, the fire-signals, the ferry-boat—all might be seen in many parts of Northern Italy.

14. **never did cord, etc.** Comp. Aen. xii, 856.

19. **Phlegyas.** The guardian of the fifth circle. See l. 21. He was the son of Mars. His daughter Coronis having been ravished by Apollo, he set fire to Apollo's temple at Delphi, for which crime he was condemned to the lower world. As a flagrant example of the consequence of anger leading to contempt of divine and human law, his place in the circle of the Angry is appropriate. Vergil places him in Tartarus, warning the shades to learn justice, and not to despise the gods. See Aen. vi, 618-620. His boat is not mentioned in classical legend, and is apparently an invention of Dante.

28. **laden seemed it not.** Comp. Aen. vi, 412-414.

29. **boat.** In most parts of Italy the word *legno* is used indiscriminately for "a ship" or "a carriage."

32. **dead canal.** The great fen, stagnant, unruffled, perhaps in contrast with the bubbling mire of Cant. vii, 119.

34. **all full of mire.** Filippo Argenti, one of the Adimari family of Florence. According to the older commentators, his name Argenti ("silver") was bestowed because he once had his horse shod with silver. He was credited with a very savage temper. Dante may

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have had some personal quarrel with him, and he was a Black, while Dante was a White.

35. **before thy time.** Before thy death.

39. **thou cursed soul.** Dante's bitter contempt is characteristic, and is commended by the Pagan Vergil in language which is strongly scriptural.

46. **blest is she.** Comp. Luke xi, 27. This is the only allusion in the poem to Dante's mother.

55. **I would right happy be.** Dante's animosity is not satisfied with words.

56. **pottage.** Or "broth," "soup." It is a "gruel thick and slab," crowded with souls as a thick soup is with fragments of meat and vegetables.

71. **Dis.** The name of Pluto the King of Hell, and applied by Dante to Lucifer. See note on Cant. vi, 119. Vergil uses the name for Hell (Aen. vi, 127). The city of Dis marks the beginning of the sixth circle. The occupants of that circle are not in the upper Inferno, which is bounded by Acheron and Styx. Nor are they in the lower Inferno, the descent to which begins with Cant. xii. The sixth circle, therefore, occupies an intermediate level plain within the city walls. There is no difference of level between this and the preceding circle. It is separated from the seventh circle by a steep precipice. The description of the city of Dis is evidently founded upon Aen. vi, 548 ff.

72. **townsmen pestilent.** Two explanations are given of *gravi*: "burdened with their sins," or "noxious, offensive," as they showed themselves toward Vergil and Dante. The latter is preferable.

74. **minarets.** Suggesting the Mohammedan mosques, and marking the abode of unbelievers.

78. **in this nether Hell.** Pointing the contrast of the fiery glow with the surrounding darkness. Nothing can be finer than the picture of these fiery towers seen in the distance through the dusky air.

79. **the fosses deep.** Very impressive is this approach to the dark, massive walls through the deep, still fosses which lap their bases; and the savage sombreness of the whole is pointed by the words "that sad city."

85. **more than a thousand.** Demons. Devils appear here for the first time.

fallen. Lit., "rained" from Heaven. These are fallen angels.

94. **his folly chose.** The path which he rashly and foolishly chose. Dante says to Vergil before entering Hell: "I fear my going may be *foolish*" (Inf. ii, 36); and Ulysses describes his last voyage as a "crazy flight" (Inf. xxvi, 130).

100. **more than seven times.** Against the wolf, his own misgivings, Charon, Minos, Cerberus, Plutus, Phlegyas. Scartazzini very pertinently says that it seems ridiculous for Dante, in a moment of such fearful distress, to be counting how many times Vergil has reassured him. But "seven" is probably used indefinitely.

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115. **yes and no.** Yes! Vergil will return. No! He will not return.

130. **a gate less secret.** The gate by which Vergil and Dante had entered Hell. According to the ancient Church-tradition, the devils opposed Christ's descent into Hades.

131. **the words of death.** The inscription at the opening of Cant. iii.

CANTO IX

1. **That hue.** Dante means that the paleness occasioned by his fear caused Vergil to banish the traces of disturbance from his own face, so that he might not aggravate Dante's terror.

7. **unless.** Vergil is on the point of expressing a doubt, but represses it, and reassures himself and Dante by saying: "So great a power offered itself for our aid"; Heaven itself, whose assistance was procured through the Virgin and Lucia, and was proffered by Beatrice. See Cant. ii.

16. **pit.** Often translated "shell," which, however, is a secondary meaning. The word *conca* is familiar in Tuscany as a large earthenware vessel for containing lye, and having the form of a truncated cone, which is the form of the infernal pit.

17. **the first grade.** Limbo.

23. **Erichtho.** A Thessalian sorceress. Doubtless suggested to Dante by Lucan's Pharsalia, in which she is represented as employed by Pompey's son to conjure up the spirit of one of his dead soldiers on the eve of the battle of Pharsalia, to reveal the issue of the battle. It is difficult if not impossible to explain Dante's association of Erichtho with Vergil. The popular mediæval belief that Vergil was a great magician may have had something to do with it. Dante may have found the germ of the story in some of the current legends about Vergil.

26. **that wall.** Of the city of Dis.

27. **The round of Judas.** Giudecca, the very lowest round of the Inferno.

30. **which all revolves.** The Primum Mobile. See Par. xxviii, 70, and Introduction, under "Dante's Cosmogony."

38. **Furies.** Dante also uses the classical term, *Erine*, in l, 45. The name Erinyes was derived from a Greek verb meaning "to hunt down; to persecute." The later name, Eumenides, signifying "the well-meaning ones," was a euphemism, used because people dreaded to call these fearful beings by their real name. In the Homeric poems, the word Erinyes is often used for "curses." For Dante's picture, comp. Aen. vi, 554-555; Statius, Theb. i, 103.

43, 44. **Queen of the eternal wailing.** Comp. Chaucer, "House of Fame," iii, 1512.

"That quene is of the derke pyne."

49. **breast—nails.** Comp. Aen. vi, 673.

52. **Medusa.** Or the Gorgon. According to a very ancient

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tradition there were three Gorgons that dwelt on the farthest shore of Ocean. Two of them were immortal. Medusa alone was mortal. Her head was cut off by Perseus and was given to Athené (Minerva), who set it in her shield. Whoever looked upon it was turned to stone.

55. **Theseus.** King of Athens. With his friend Pirithous he attempted to carry off Proserpina, Pluto's queen. Pirithous was slain, and Theseus was kept a prisoner in Hell until released by Hercules. Vergil represents him as detained in Hell forever. See Aen. vi, 617-618. Comp. 391-397. Dante adopts the version of the legend according to which he was liberated.

63. **the teaching hidden.** Dante here calls attention to the allegorical significance of ll. 55-58. It must be remembered that Dante's pilgrimage is the process of his conversion from a life of sensuality and unbelief. This circle is the circle of the unbelieving, and especially of a form of unbelief which was largely associated with sensualism. The malevolent angels of this circle are bent upon resisting all progress toward true penitence. The most effectual means to this end is to produce despair, which may act either to make one deny God, or to make him, through the memory of past sins, lose all hope of pardon. The beating and tearing of the breasts in hopeless misery symbolizes the harrowing remembrance of former sins. The Gorgon which turns to stone is despair.

64. **and already came.** There is no more magnificent descriptive passage in the poem than the following.

68. **counter heats.** Heat from an opposite quarter. The wind rushes in to fill the vacuum caused by heat.

69. **smites the forest.** Chaucer may have found here his lines describing those forest growths

> "In which there ran a rumbel and a swough,
> As though a storm sholde bresten every bough."
> "Knighte's Tale," 1879–1880.

75. **is most distressing.** Most annoying to the eyes.

77. **the frogs.** Mr. J. A. Symonds thinks that this description may have been suggested to Dante in the Pineta at Ravenna. "The picture of the storm among the trees might well have occurred to Dante's mind beneath the roof of pine-boughs. Nor is there any place in which the simile of the frogs and water-snake attains such dignity and grandeur. I must confess that, till I saw the ponds and marshes of Ravenna, I used to fancy that the comparison was somewhat below the greatness of the subject; but there so grave a note of solemnity and desolation is struck, the scale of Nature is so large, and the serpents coiling in and out among the lily-leaves and flowers are so much in their right place, that they suggest a scene by no means unworthy of Dante's conception." "Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe."

huddled. Following Boccaccio, many explain "gather themselves into heaps." But observation shows that on the approach of danger to a number of frogs, they throw themselves separately

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into the water, and may be seen lying separated at the bottom. Notice that Dante says "each one." William Warren Vernon ("Readings on the Inferno of Dante") thinks that the Italian *abbicare* is a latinism from *abjicere* "to throw off." Even if "huddle" is retained, it need not imply that many frogs are huddled in a heap, but simply that each frog is drawn up or bunched up with terror.

80, 81. **one who—was passing.** Dante's angels are unique both in beauty and in majesty. Perez ("I Sette Cerchi del Purgatorio di Dante") remarks that it seems to him that the angels have loved to reveal themselves in Italy more than in any other land; and that their excellence, nature, and beauty have been set forth at their highest by the three great Italians to whom the title of Angelic properly belongs. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor; Giovanni da Fiesole or Fra Angelico; and Dante, who is named the *divine* poet, which is better than "angelic." At this point he will naturally be compared with Milton. Macaulay's attempt to draw the comparison may be pardoned because of the immature character of the "Essay on Milton," which betrays the crudest possible conception of the subject. Dante's only picture of a fallen angel is that of Lucifer. In his portraits of Satan and his associate rebels, Milton accentuates former glory now lost or tarnished. Satan's form

> "had not yet lost
> All her original brightness, nor appeared
> Less than archangel ruined, and th' excess
> Of glory obscured."

His companions are

> "godlike shapes, and forms
> Excelling human, princely Dignities,
> And Powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones."

Dante's Lucifer is the consummate incarnation of demoniac bestiality. Milton's good angels are winged men in casques and breastplates, wielding swords and spears, or celestial Adonises with curling locks and golden tiaras. They go sociably to lunch with Adam and Eve in Eden; they engage in athletic sports, and dance cotillions round the sacred hill on festive occasions; they mount and relieve guard on the heights of heaven, and are rolled over by a vigorous onslaught of the infernal squadrons; they are stamped with what Mrs. Jameson calls "the aggrandized and idealized human presence." Dante, whose outlines are usually so sharp, commonly evades definiteness in portraying his angels. The outlines melt in the reader's effort to define them. One never loses the impression of a superhuman being, and never receives the impression of an exaggerated man. Over and above the distinctive traits necessary to the evolution of the particular idea or scene, they are invested with a quality which defies analysis or definition. The most sharply drawn are the one in this passage and the warder of the gate of Purgatory. Next to these are the pilot-angel and the two in the Valley of the Princes. The angel who conducts the ascent to the second terrace of Purgatory is portrayed by hints rather than by details—the fair creature, white-robed, and with a face like the

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trembling morning-star. At the ascent to the third terrace there are only a great splendor and the words "Enter here"; at the fourth, only light and a sense of the fanning of wings; at the fifth, only a vision of two wings like a swan's; but in the merest hints, the angelic presence is recognized and felt. The angel of this passage is, on the whole, the finest of all.

84. **with that annoyance only.** The effect of the noisome atmosphere. He was not troubled with compassion for the damned nor with fear of their wrath.

87. **bow me down.** Comp. Purg. ii, 27.

88. **disdainful.** Of the impotent rage of the demons. See note on Inf. ii, 122.

99. **to butt against.** Comp. Purg. xvi, 11.

101. **carries peeled his chin and throat.** Hercules chained Cerberus and dragged him to the upper world. See Aen. vi, 395-396.

103. **spoke no word to us.** Possibly because he was in haste to return. Some have thought that he did not address Vergil because he was a Pagan, nor Dante because his purification was not complete.

104. **other care.** Not merely as "preoccupied with thoughts of Heaven," but as preoccupied with the burden of his heavenly commissions.

114. **Arles.** Arles, once the most important city of Southern France, and called the Rome of Gaul, is in Provence near the delta of the Rhone. The great cemetery, which still retains the name Aliscamps, or Elysian Fields, lies beyond the walls east of the city. According to the legend it was consecrated to the interment of the bodies of the faithful. The peers of Charlemagne with their ten thousand men-at-arms were said to be interred there. The tombs, of which there are many remains, were evidently both Christian and Pagan.

becomes a marsh. Forms a lagoon; not "is stagnant." Twenty-five miles from the sea the Rhone begins to form its delta, breaking into two main branches, and cannot keep a clear passage to the sea because of the accumulations of its own alluvium. It has been estimated that since the Gallo-Roman period, from seventy-five to a hundred square miles have been added to the area of the delta. From Tarascon to Arles, seventeen miles, is an alluvial plain intersected by ditches.

115. **Pola.** Pola is in the extreme south of the peninsula of Istria, separated by a few miles from the deep gulf of Quarnaro. It was an important naval station in the Augustan age, and, in the Middle Ages, suffered severely in the contests between the Venetians and the Genoese, being laid waste by each in turn. It sank into insignificance, and did not come into notice again until the Austrians made it their headquarters in their attempts against Venice. An interesting description of the modern town is given by Bassermann ("Dante's Spuren in Italien," p. 40 ff.). He describes the necropolis as occupying a spacious amphitheatre on the southeast of the city, on the road leading to the Gulf of Quarnaro. The tombs have vanished, but must have been very numerous. It is, beyond doubt,

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Dante's field of tombs. There is an unsupported tradition that Dante was entertained in the neighboring Benedictine abbey of S. Michele. A description and a wood-cut are given in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "Dalmatia and Montenegro," Vol. I, Ch. ii. See also Allason's "Antiquities of Pola," Lond., 1819.

128. **Heresiarchs.** The term is somewhat ambiguous. Dante has one type of sin prominently in mind, namely, Epicureanism, and that in respect of its holding that the soul dies with the body. In this sense alone the punishment is appropriate. Heresiarchs, in the ordinary sense of that term, would belong with the Schismatics in the ninth Bolgia (Cant. xviii). Here Dante contemplates open and professed infidelity, particularly in its aspect of materialism. Dr. Moore has some very interesting remarks as to the reason why Dante did not provide a special punishment for heresy properly so called, or perverted opinions on religious truth as such. He points out that it was no part of Dante's plan to deal with secret sins of the heart, but only with those which were developed in some outwardly vicious action. There is no place in the Inferno for one who merely holds heretical views; but when he openly promulgates them, or openly denies the truth of Christianity and repudiates the authority of the Church, he becomes a candidate for the ninth Bolgia. ("Studies in Dante," ii, 178 ff.)

132. **to right.** In his passage through Hell, Dante follows a leftward course throughout. See Inf. xiv, 125; xviii, 20; xix, 43; xxi, 141; xxiii, 69; xxix, 55; xxxi, 83. The allegorical meaning of this practice is variously explained. Some: at the day of judgment the doomed will stand at the left hand. Others: in Hell the forms of sin proceed from worse to worse. At best these are speculations, as are the explanations of the turn to the right at this point of the journey.

CANTO X

1. **secret path.** "Secret" is the true reading; not "narrow."

11. **Jehoshaphat.** According to the belief that the final judgment would take place in the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east side of Jerusalem. See Joel iii, 2, 12.

13. **Epicurus.** See note on Inf. ix, 128.

18. **the desire.** See Inf. vi, 79.

21. **save to speak briefly.** Dante means that he does not keep silent for the sake of concealing his thoughts, but in order that he may not annoy Vergil by talking too much.

26. **thy mode of speech.** Farinata has heard Dante talking with Vergil, and has recognized him as a Tuscan by his dialect.

28. **I was too troublesome.** By returning to Siena after his expulsion from Florence in 1258, where, with his companions in exile, he concerted the measures which led to the crushing defeat of the Florentine Guelfs at Montaperti.

33. **Farinata.** Son of Jacopo degli Uberti. He was born in the

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beginning of the thirteenth century. His family became a leader of the Ghibellines. In 1248 he was active in the expulsion of the Guelfs, who returned in 1251, and in 1258 expelled the Ghibellines, Farinata among them. He retired to Siena, where he organized a movement which led to the defeat of the Guelfs at the battle of Montaperti, September 4, 1260, leaving the Ghibellines masters of Tuscany. After this he returned to Florence, and died about 1264. He is placed in Hell as a follower of Epicurus's opinion that the soul died with the body.

44. **to obey.** Vergil's admonition. It is noticeable that Dante does not manifest here his usual contempt for the sufferers, but rather speaks respectfully, possibly because of their dignity and reputation.

49. **they were opposed.** Being Guelfs, and therefore hostile to the Ghibellines, Farinata's party.

two several times. In 1248 and 1260.

52. **returned both times.** In 1251, and in 1266, after the battle of Benevento between Charles of Anjou and Manfred, the King of Sicily. Manfred was defeated and slain. He had contributed greatly to the Ghibelline victory at Montaperti, and his defeat and death were a crushing blow to the Ghibelline cause.

53. **at the mouth.** Commonly rendered "to sight." But *vista* means rather the unclosed mouth of the tomb, just as, in Purg. x, 68, it means "window."

55. **a shade.** This is Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, the father of Dante's friend Guido Cavalcanti, who married Farinata's daughter.

61. **where is my son?** Comp. the interview of Aeneas and Andromache, Aen. vi, 310 ff.

65. **in contempt.** Why, cannot be satisfactorily explained. Dante dedicated the "Vita Nuova" to him, and says (§ xxxi) that Guido desired him to write to him only in Italian and not in Latin; from which it is inferred that Guido had no love for Latin poetry, and consequently none for Vergil. Others assign a political reason; that Guido, a Guelf, disliked Vergil who was the poet of the Roman Empire.

70. **he held.** Cavalcante interprets the past tense as indicating that Guido was no longer living.

78. **that art.** The art of returning home after banishment.

81. **the dame.** Hecate or Proserpina who rules in Hell, and represents the moon.

82, 83. **how heavy is that art.** Dante was banished from Florence in 1302. Farinata's prediction refers to 1304, when the banished Whites and Ghibellines, including Dante, tried in vain to secure a reversal of the decree of banishment.

85. **that people is so pitiless.** The Florentine Guelfs. At the time when Dante wrote, the middle classes were all-powerful, and the nobles, especially the Ghibellines, were trampled under foot. See Purg. vi, 114.

mine. The family of the Uberti who were excepted from the permission to return in 1280, when the Guelfs and Ghibellines were reconciled.

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88. **the Arbia.** A small stream of Tuscany rising a few miles south of Siena. On its left bank is the hill of Montaperti, where occurred the great battle between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines of Florence. The Ghibellines were driven from Florence in 1250, but found an ally in Manfred, the natural son of the Emperor Frederick II, with whose aid and that of the Sienese they utterly routed the Guelfs at Montaperti, September 4, 1260.

such law. *Orazion* is rendered in two ways: either "decree, law," or "prayers." According to the former, the meaning is: "the defeat of the Guelfs at Montaperti causes such decrees to be promulgated in our temple against the Uberti." According to the latter: "the defeat, etc., causes prayer to be offered in our temple for deliverance from the plots of the Uberti." The former is preferable. The temple was the church of San Giovanni, where popular assemblies were held.

91. **in that.** In fighting against Florence. Not on my shoulders alone was the reproach of fighting against my native city. I was carried along with others—the Sienese and the Pisans—and not without cause, for I had been unjustly banished.

94. **I only was the one, etc.** After the battle of Montaperti a diet of the Ghibellines was held at Empoli, in which the deputies from Siena and Pisa proposed the demolition of Florence. Farinata strenuously opposed this, and the project was dropped. The incident is related in detail by Villani, Cron. vi, 81.

99. **it seems that you foresee.** Dante's perplexity is caused by the fact that Farinata predicts the future (ll. 80–83), while Cavalcante is not aware that his son is still alive (ll. 61, 62, 69, 70).

101, 102. **we—see.** It is a question whether by "we" Farinata is referring to the damned generally, or only to the tenants of this circle. There are numerous instances in the Inferno of the prediction of the future by the damned. See vi, 65 ff.; xxiv, 148 ff.; xxviii, 58–63; xxxii, 74; and in the later cantos there is no instance of any definite knowledge of the present. Note especially Guido da Montefeltro's ignorance of the present state of Romagna, xxvii, 28. But in vi, 49, 71, 75, 76, Ciacco is aware of the present state of Florence. This is a glaring inconsistency unless Farinata refers only to those in the sixth circle.

104. **still shines the Guide.** God still allows us to retain so much light.

109. **from the moment, etc.** After the final judgment the knowledge of present and future events in the world will cease, because time will have ceased.

111. **contrite.** Dante appears to be visited with some compunction for the anguish which he has caused Cavalcante by not answering at once his question "Where is my son?" and thus suffering him to believe that his son was dead.

117. **error.** Not "perplexing question." He means his own error in supposing that Cavalcante was aware of what was then going on in the world.

121. **the second Frederick.** Grandson of Frederick Barbarossa, son of the Emperor Henry VI and Constance of Sicily. Elected

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King of the Romans in 1196. Became King of Sicily and Naples, 1197. Emperor, 1212. He espoused the cause of the Emperor Otho deposed by Innocent III in 1211. Excommunicated by Gregory IX in 1239. Undertook a crusade to Palestine in 1228, and crowned himself King of Jerusalem in 1229. He was deposed by Innocent IV in 1245. He defied the Pope and appealed to the princes and kings of Christendom. He carried on the war with the Pope until his death at Firenzuola in 1250. By birth he was half Norman and half German; by birthplace, Italian; by residence, Sicilian; by temperament and education, Italian rather than German. He was sensual and luxurious, but vigorous and brave in war, and astute in politics. The English historian Matthew Paris called him "the wonder of the world." Professor Edward Freeman says: "There probably never lived a human being endowed with greater natural gifts, or whose natural gifts were, according to the means afforded him by his age, more sedulously cultivated." He was an accomplished linguist, a student of natural history, an intelligent and generous promoter of art and literature. He restored and endowed the University of Naples, and provided Arab, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew teachers for the medical schools of Salerno. He caused the works of Aristotle and of other ancient philosophers to be translated into Latin.

The correctness of Dante's judgment in placing him in the sixth circle among Epicurean infidels is not beyond question. The exact nature of his religious views it is not easy, perhaps not possible to define. His attitude toward the Church, to say nothing of his intellectual and moral isolation from the current sentiment of the thirteenth century, would easily have procured for him the reputation of an infidel. Dean Milman's estimate is cautious and discriminating, though generous. "It was the shattered, dubious, at times trembling faith, at times desperately reckless incredulity, of a man under the burden of an undeserved excommunication, of which he could not but discern the injustice, but could not quite shake off the terrors; of a man whom a better age of Christianity might not have made religious, whom his own made irreligious." On the other hand, he has been depicted as the centre of a circle of admirers by whom he was regarded as the Messiah of a new religion. Whatever his personal belief, his attitude toward ecclesiastical questions was clearly defined. He professed and enforced strict orthodoxy of dogma. He was tolerant to the Jew and to the Islamite. He was relentlessly cruel to the Christian heretic. If he accepted Dante's theory of the coequality of Pope and Emperor, the attitude of the Popes was largely responsible for his effort to exalt the Empire above the Papacy. The story that he became a Mohammedan is a fable. Possibly he never formally abandoned all faith in the Christian dogmas as they were understood in his own age. It cannot be doubted that he was at least a free-thinker, and indulged in speculations condemned by the orthodoxy of his age, and that he aimed at great changes in the external fabric of the Church and in the relations between the Papacy and the Empire.

From the Oriental and Mohammedan touch in the word *minarets*

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(viii, 74), I am inclined to think that Dante was somewhat influenced by the popular opinion that Frederick had become a convert to Islamism. It is not improbable that he was also influenced by the common, and largely unjust association of Epicureanism with sensuality.

122. **the cardinal.** Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, the uncle of Archbishop Ruggieri, whose punishment is described in Cant. xxxii, 135 ff. He was Bishop of Bologna, and Chaplain of Pope Gregory IX. He attained great influence at the Roman court. Although an ecclesiastic, he was a sturdy Ghibelline, so much so that he is said to have declared: "If I have a soul, I have lost it a thousand times over for the Ghibellines." He is described as a very sagacious and daring man, often openly defending rebels against Church authority.

139. **the point above.** Up to the place where Dante and Vergil were standing. Not, up to the world above.

In reviewing this canto one recalls the words of Mrs. Oliphant in "The Makers of Florence." "Genius has never proved its potency so mightily as by the way in which so many petty tumults and functionaries of the thirteenth century, so many trifling incidents and local circumstances, passed out of all human importance for the last six hundred years, have been held suspended in a fierce light of life and reality, unable to perish and get themselves safe into oblivion up to this very day, in consequence of their connection with this one man."

CANTO XI

It will be convenient, by way of preface to this canto, to present at a glance the scheme according to which sins and punishments are classified in the nether Hell. It will be remembered that Circle VI forms the division between the upper and the lower Inferno. In the lower Inferno is punished—

MALICIOUS WICKEDNESS;
of which the end is
INJURY,
wrought by
VIOLENCE,
FRAUD.

I. VIOLENCE, Circle VII.
Subdivided into three rounds:
A. Violence against neighbors:
Their persons,
Their property.
B. Violence against self:
The person (suicide),
The goods (prodigal waste).
C. Violence against God:
By blasphemy,
By unnatural sin.

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II. Fraud, Circles VIII, IX.

A. Fraud against man as man, where no special tie exists. Punished in Circle VIII, in the ten pits of Malebolge.

1. Seducers.
2. Flatterers.
3. Simoniacs.
4. Diviners.
5. Barrators.
6. Hypocrites.
7. Robbers.
8. Evil Counsellors.
9. Schismatics.
10. Falsifiers.

B. Fraud against those united by special ties. Punished in Circle IX. Four rounds of Traitors.

Caïna: Traitors to Kindred.
Antenora: Traitors to Country.
Tolomea: Traitors to friends or companions.
Giudecca: Traitors to benefactors.

1. **embankment.** Forming the boundary between the sixth and seventh circles.

3. **keep.** The word signifies "a prison, cage, enclosure." Sometimes "a coop" for chickens. Sarcastically used here. Some translate "a throng" (of sufferers).

5. **foul odor.** If Dante is sensitive to color and sound. he is likewise sensitive to odors, pleasant and unpleasant. See Inf. x, 138; xvii, 3; xviii, 107; xxix, 53; Purg. vii, 83 f.; xix, 33; xxii, 136; xxiii, 67; xxiv, 152; Par. xvi, 35; xx. 124; xxx, 67.

8. **Pope Anastasius.** Dante, though a loyal churchman, does not hesitate to place a Pope in Hell. Celestine V is in the vestibule with the Neutrals; Nicholas III is in the third Bolgia, and Clement V and Boniface VIII are expected there. See Cant. xix. Two are in Purgatory, Adrian V (Purg. xix, 99 ff.), and Martin IV (Purg. xxiv, 22-25). Only one is mentioned by name as seen by Dante in Paradise, John XXI (Par. xii, 134-135); and John XXII is denounced by anticipation along with Clement V (Par. xxvii, 58). In some of these instances, Dante shows respect for the office while he reprobates the sin. Thus, when he recognizes Adrian V, he falls on his knees; and even in the case of Boniface VIII whom he lashes unsparingly, he deprecates the insults heaped upon him at Anagni. See Purg. xx, 87-88. His denunciation of the abuses of the Papal See in Par. xxvii, 22 ff., is one of the grandest passages in the poem.

Anastasius II was Pope from 496 to 498. The Emperor Zeno (474-491) had been persuaded by Acacius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to prepare in 482, a document called "Henotikon" or "Unifier," the purpose of which was to adjust the controversy about the nature of Christ's person. For this Acacius was excom-

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municated, and his name was ordered to be stricken from the roll of those who, after their death, should be mentioned in the prayers of the Church. Pope Anastasius, on his accession, sent two Bishops to the Emperor, declaring his willingness to recognize the consecrations performed by Acacius during his lifetime. He dared to doubt the damnation of a Bishop excommunicated by the See of Rome, and wished to have the name of Acacius passed over in silence rather than publicly expunged from the roll of the blessed. Photinus, a deacon of Thessalonica, came to Rome with the purpose of procuring the restoration of Acacius' name to the roll. He was cordially received by Anastasius. The clergy disagreed with the Pope, and withdrew their allegiance. Thus arose the story which Dante revived, that Anastasius was persuaded to heresy by Photinus. The assertion that Dante is here confusing Pope Anastasius with the Emperor of that name is without sufficient ground.

17. **these rocks.** Those mentioned in l. 2, which formed the bank enclosing the seventh circle.

18. **in gradation.** Descending in stages.

23. **wickedness.** The following distinction between sins of violence and sins of fraud is drawn from Cicero, "De Officiis," i, 13.

27. **an ill peculiar.** Because it involves the use of reason which only man possesses.

30. **the violent.** The seventh circle is occupied by the Violent only, but is subdivided into three minor circles or rounds.

35. **to them and what is theirs.** Violence may be done either to person or to property.

50. **denying him in heart.** See Ps. xiv, 1.

51. **his bounty.** The bounty or goodness of God, not of Nature. Unnatural sin is here combined with usury: Sodom with Cahors.

52. **Cahors.** In the south of France, on the river Lot. The term Caorsinus came to be used as synonymous with "usurer." See St. Peter's denunciation in Par. xxvii, 58, 59.

53, 54. **speaks with his own heart.** As l. 50.

55. **is every conscience stung.** Not that every one is guilty of fraud, but that the fraudulent acts deliberately and with forethought, and not under the influence of passion; therefore he is fully conscious of his sin.

56. **a man may practise, etc.** A man can employ fraud upon one who trusts him or upon one who does not trust him. In the latter case, the fraud breaks merely the bond of love which one has for his neighbor as being human like himself. This class of sins is punished in the ten pits of Malebolge in the eighth circle.

60. **which Nature forms.** The second class of fraud ruptures not only the natural, human bond, but the ties of kindred, friendship, etc., which should create a peculiar bond of trustfulness between men. This is treachery, the vilest form of fraud, punished in the four ice-bound rounds at the bottom of Hell.

75. **But tell me, etc.** Dante's question is why the tenants of Circles II, III, IV, V,—the Lustful, the Gluttons, the Angry, and the Misers and Spendthrifts—are not punished in the lower instead of in the upper Hell. He does not see how the classification laid

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out by Vergil for the lower Hell explains the lighter punishment of the upper circles. Vergil in reply refers him to the classification of Aristotle, that all wrong-doing falls under the categories of Incontinence, Malice, and Brutishness, and to his assertion that Incontinence is less displeasing to God, and worthy of less reprehension. Aristotle makes a distinction between sins of impulse and sins of deliberate intellectual determination, habitually pursued, in the entire absence of passion. The former are outside of "the red city," the latter within its walls. But this Aristotelian classification is not carried further; and in the scheme of the lower Hell, Cicero is followed. See note on l. 23. Cicero's words are: "Injury is wrought in two ways: that is, either by violence or by fraud; fraud as of the fox, violence as of the lion. Both are most alien to man, but fraud deserves the greater detestation." Neither the classification of Cicero nor that of Aristotle provides a place for the sin of the sixth circle—infidelity, especially in its materialistic aspect. This seems to form an intermediate grade, in which the sin is less flagrant than the sins of violence, and graver than the sins of impulse.

100. **usury offends.** See l. 51 and note. Dante's question is why the Usurers are classed with the Sodomites. Vergil replies that the operations of Nature originate with God and with his art or process of working. Man's art in acquiring the means of subsistence therefore follows Nature as Nature follows God. Both the natural and the divine law are laid down in Gen. ii, 15: "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." The Usurer "takes another way." He strives to acquire wealth without labor, and therefore sins against both God and Nature. Thus the Sodomite and the Usurer alike sin against Nature.

118. **the Fishes.** The sun was now in Aries, which it enters at the vernal Equinox. The Fishes are the zodiacal sign preceding Aries. Comp. Purg. i, 22; xxxii, 54. The time indicated is early dawn, between 4 and 5 A. M.

119. **the Wain.** The constellation known as Ursa Major or the Greater Bear.

120. **Caurus.** Lit., "the northwest wind," but used here for the northwestern quarter. The Wain lies just upon the northwest line.

CANTO XII

2. **what was there.** The Minotaur.

4. **that landslip.** A tremendous slide of rocks known as the Slavini di Marco, between Ala and Roveredo, on the road from Trent to Verona. Albertus Magnus, the Schoolman and Dante's contemporary, in his treatise on Meteors, explains the cause of landslips, and as one of his illustrations cites the fall of a great mountain between Trent and Verona, which fell into the Adige and overwhelmed villages and people along a stretch of three or four miles.

6. **by earthquake.** Albertus says that mountains fall because of earthquakes, or from the undermining of their bases by water.

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12, 13. **the Infamy of Crete.** The Minotaur, a monster, half-man and half-bull. Pasiphae, the wife of Minos, King of Crete, in order to gratify her lust for a bull, entered a wooden cow. The offspring was the Minotaur, which was kept in a labyrinth in Crete, constructed by Daedalus. As a satisfaction for the murder of his son, the Athenians were compelled by Minos to send to Crete annually, seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured by the beast. The monster was finally slain by Theseus, with the help of Ariadne, Minos's daughter, who provided him with a sword and a clue to the labyrinth. See Aen. vi, 24-30. This brutal creature is a fitting guardian of the circle occupied by bloody tyrants.

17. **the Duke of Athens.** Theseus.

20. **schooled.** Tutored, by Ariadne, the daughter of Pasiphae and therefore sister of the Minotaur.

21. **that bull.** Comp. Aen. ii, 223-4.

> "Right as the wilde bole biginneth springe
> Now here, now there, y-darted to the herte,
> And of his deeth roreth in compleyninge."
> CHAUCER, "Troilus and Criseyde," iv. 239 ff.

24. **plunges.** Lit., "skips, frisks." A touch of irony. It suggests the slang usage of the word "waltz."

27. **the pass.** Where the Minotaur had been.

29. **discharge.** The original word, "unloading," is peculiarly graphic, picturing a mass of loose stones shot out down the slope as from a vast wagon.

31. **novel weight.** Of a mortal body.

37. **the other time.** See Inf. ix, 23.

38. **if I rightly judge.** Vergil speaks with some hesitation, as one who is not familiar with the facts of Christian history.

39. **Dis.** See note on Inf. viii, 71.

40. **the great prey.** See Inf. iv, 52 ff. The spirits of the Patriarchs.

42. **so trembled.** Referring to the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion. Matt. xxvii, 51.

43, 44. **there are who think.** Referring to the teaching of Empedocles (see note on Inf. iv, 135). He held that the world was formed of six principles or natural forces, viz., the four elements, and love and hatred. This formation was due to discord between the elements and the motions of Heaven, in other words, by homogeneous matter separating itself from homogeneous, to unite with heterogeneous matter. When, after a certain time, the elements and the motions of Heaven were in agreement, love, or the tendency of like to unite with like, was generated; and thus the world was resolved into chaos, with a tremendous convulsion. Vergil, feeling Hell tremble, supposed that Empedocles' opinion was correct: that by force of natural love the links had been broken, and the heterogeneous parts dispersed to unite with the homogeneous ones, and that the universe had again resolved itself into chaos.

46. **here and elsewhere.** See Inf. xxiii, 141–142.

48. **the river of blood.** Phlegethon. See Inf. xiv, 130–136.

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55. as that. The arc which they saw was a segment of a circular trench compassing the entire plain.

57. 'twixt the bottom. The foot of the bank which they had just descended was separated by a space from the margin of the river of blood.

58. Centaurs. Half-horses and half-men.

> "Until at last in sight the Centaur drew,
> A mighty grey horse, trotting down the glade,
> Over whose back the long grey locks were laid,
> That from his reverend head abroad did flow;
> For to the waist was man, but all below,
> A mighty horse."
>
> WILLIAM MORRIS, "Jason."

62. shafts. Properly "long arrows."

already picked. Selected before they separated from the group.

65. from where you are. Do not advance toward us. Comp. Purg. ix, 85-87, and Aen. vi, 388-389.

69. Nessus. Nessus was the ferryman at the Evenus, a river of Aetolia. He is described in the "Trachiniae" of Sophocles, 559 ff. "Who used to carry men in his arms for hire across the deep waters of the Evenus, using no oar to waft them, nor sail of ship."

70. Deianira. The second wife of Hercules. While journeying with her husband from Calydon to Trachis, Nessus, at the ford of the Evenus, attempted to outrage her, and was shot by Hercules with a poisoned arrow.

71. wreaked vengeance. When dying, Nessus gave to Deianira a shirt stained with his poisoned blood, and told her that if her husband should prove unfaithful, it would be the means of restoring him. Hercules became infatuated with Iole, and Deianira sent him the garment, and the poison destroyed him. The whole passage is drawn from Ovid, Metam. ix, 101 ff.

72. Chiron. Chiron was the most celebrated of the Centaurs. Homer, Il. xi, 832, describes him as "the most just of the Centaurs." He was the instructor of Jason, Hercules, Aesculapius, and Achilles.

74. so full of wrath. Vergil, Geor. ii, 456, speaks of Pholus as one of "the raging Centaurs."

77, 78. more than its sin allots it. The offenders are immersed at different depths, according to the degree of their guilt.

79. Chiron took a shaft, etc. One of the finest pictures in all poetry.

notch. The notch-end of the arrow. The word is also used for the arrow itself. See Inf. xvii, 136.

88. necessity. Since this journey was the only means of restoring Dante to a righteous life. See Inf. i, 88 f. Purg. i, 59-65.

89, 90. one who laid on me, etc. Beatrice. Inf. ii, 67-70.

92. a robber's soul. Nor am I the spirit of a robber who violently seizes others' goods, like those in this circle.

95. we may keep near. Interpretations differ. Some explain: "to whom we may be approved and held dear." One modern

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commentator says that the phrase, in the sense of "near," is still in use among the people about Genoa.

106. **tyrants.** Their sufferings are described by Dante without comment. "It is seldom that his narrative is so absolutely reticent and colorless in respect of the effect produced upon himself, as it is here."—Moore.

109. **Alexander.** It is disputed whether the reference is to Alexander the Great, Alexander of Pherae, B.C. 368–359, notorious for his ferocity (see Cicero "De Officiis," ii, 7), or Alexander Balas, who gave himself out as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim to the throne in Antioch, was defeated near Antioch by Jonathan the Maccabee, and died B.C. 145. The reference to Alexander of Pherae is pressed on the ground of his being coupled with Dionysius in the passage in Cicero above. But in that passage he is not cited as an illustration of tyranny, but of suspiciousness. There can be no doubt, however, that Alexander of Pherae was well entitled to a place in the river of blood. Grote says he was "the greatest potentate in Thessaly, as well as the most sanguinary tyrant, until the time of his death." It is related of him that he used to clothe his victims in the skins of wild beasts and have them worried by his hounds. Against the reference to Alexander the Great, it is urged that Dante in his other works speaks of him with high praise; lauding, for instance, his royal beneficence in Conv. iv, 11, 7. But, as Mr. Butler aptly remarks, such words are offset by Dante's citing Bertrand de Born along with Alexander, as one of the world's generous benefactors, while he none the less puts Bertrand in the ninth pit of Malebolge. Lucan and Orosius, both favorite authorities of Dante, speak in the strongest terms of Alexander's tyranny and cruelty. Alexander the Great is not among the great shades in Limbo, and it is not probable that Dante would have referred here to a comparatively inconspicuous personage without adding something to distinguish him from one whose name was universally familiar.

Dionysius. B.C. 405-365. The tyrant of Syracuse.

112. **Azzolino.** Azzolino or Ezzelino da Romano, 1194-1259. son-in-law of the Emperor Frederick II, and chief of the Ghibellines of upper Italy. His sister Cunizza in Paradise alludes to him as "a firebrand." Par. ix, 28–31. He was lord of the March of Treviso, and was guilty of the foulest atrocities. A graphic description of his cruelties may be found in Mr. J. A. Symonds's "Renaissance in Italy," Vol. I, p. 97 ff. Vol. IV, p. 280.

113. **Obizzo of Esti.** 1264-1293. Marquis of Ferrara and of the March of Ancona. A Guelf. The accent of "Esti" falls on the last syllable.

120. **boiling stream.** The word *bulicame*, as a common noun, occurs only here and in l. 129. In Inf. xiv, 77, it is a proper name.

122. **cleft the heart.** Guy de Montfort, son of Simon de Montfort and Eleanor, daughter of King John of England. In 1271 he murdered his first cousin, Prince Henry, son of Richard, duke of Cornwall, and consequently nephew of Henry III of England. The murder was perpetrated in the church of San Silvestro at

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Viterbo. The crime was committed at mass, it was said at the Elevation of the Host. Hence the expression, "in the bosom of God."

123. **on the Thames is venerated.** The word rendered "is venerated," is by some editors explained "continues to drip blood." The reference is to an unfounded story that Henry's heart was enclosed in a gold casket and placed on a pillar on London Bridge. The story is told by Villani, Cron. vii, 39. The murderer is pictured as standing alone on one side, either because of the special enormity of his crime, or because, being an Englishman, his race and country were remote. Comp. Saladin, Inf. iv, 126, and Sordello, Purg. vi, 62. The passage illustrates Dante's habit of indicating cities or towns by the names of their rivers. See Inf. xxvii, 54; xv, 112; Par. vi, 58-60.

135. **Attila.** King of the Huns, A.D. 434-453. Known as "the scourge of God." His portrait is very finely drawn by Mr. T. Hodgkin in the second volume of "Italy and Her Invaders."

136. **Pyrrhus.** Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, B.C. 318-272. He invaded Italy in 280, at the invitation of the Tarentines to assist them in their war against the Romans. He defeated the Roman army near Heraclea. In 279 he gained another victory. He went to Sicily, where he remained for two years, returned to Italy in 276, and in 275 was utterly defeated near Beneventum, and was forced to leave Italy. After some enterprises in Greece, he was slain in 242. He was the greatest warrior of his time, and wrote a work on the art of war. He is placed in Hell because of his invasion of Italy.

Sextus. Sextus Pompey, the younger son of Pompey the Great. Born B.C. 75. In the civil wars which followed the assassination of Julius Caesar (B.C. 44), he obtained a large fleet which enabled him to stop all the supplies of corn brought to Rome from Egypt and the Eastern provinces. Owing to the scarcity which was thus caused in the city, the Triumvirs were compelled to make peace with him in B.C. 39. The war, however, was renewed the next year, and in 36 he was defeated and put to death. Dante puts him in Hell on account of his piracies.

136. **forever draws.** The sense is: Divine justice causes to flow the tears which, by means of the boiling heat of the bloody river, it extorts from Rinier, etc.

138. **Rinier da Corneto; Rinier Pazzo.** Two noted highwaymen.

CANTO XIII

1. **the other side.** The side to which he was returning after leaving the poets.

4. **not branches smooth.**

> "With knotty knarry bareyn trees olde
> Of stubbes sharpe and hidous to biholde.'
> CHAUCER, "Knighte's Tale," 1977.

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8, 9. **between Caecina and Corneto.** The district between the mountains of Tuscany and the sea, known as Maremma, which is Maritima, or the coast-land. From its low situation and want of drainage it was infected with malaria. In the wider sense, the name covered the whole strip along the western coast of Italy, from the Gulf of Spezzia to the Gulf of Salerno. In the narrower sense, it is where Dante places it, where the malaria most prevails. Bassermann says: "I am especially familiar with the wood southward from Massa; and the picture of the Maremma which Dante sketches answers to it only too well. An uneasy, oppressive feeling seizes us when these bush-woods surround us. There is nothing of the cheerful, mild poetry of our forest; no spacious vistas and mossy resting-places. In whatever direction we go, we are surrounded with thick, vicious underwood, mostly stone-oaks and cork-oaks, with their tangled branches and the dusky green of their hard, leathern leaves. Our path follows it without end or break; and if occasionally a tree appears overhead, it is a deformed monster which writhes upward out of the confusion, with wrathfully distorted masses of limbs. The forests of Maremma cannot to-day be better described than in Dante's words; and the fancy is moved involuntarily to invest with life, as he has done, the very tree-forms which start up from the thicket." ("Dante's Spuren in Italien.") The Maremma appears in Inf. xxv, 20, as the haunt of serpents; in Inf. xxix, 51, as a sickly region; in Purg. v, 143, as destroying life with its poisonous atmosphere.

10. **Harpies.** The word means "snatchers," and was used by Homer to personify whirlwinds or hurricanes, and to symbolize the sudden and total disappearance of men. The conception adopted by Vergil and Dante is later.

11. **the Strophades.** The Strophades were two islands in the Ionian sea off the coast of Messenia. The name, which is derived from the Greek verb "to turn," was connected with the return of the sons of Boreas from these islands to which they had pursued the Harpies. Aeneas and his companions touched there on their voyage to Italy. The Harpies defiled their tables, and one of them solemnly predicted disaster to the Trojans. See Aen. iii, 210-258.

19. **the dreadful sand.** In the third round. See Inf. xiv, 8-15.

24, 25. **I think that he thought.** For similar plays on words, see Inf. xiii, 68; xxvi, 70-71; xxx, 140-141; Purg. xx, 1; Par. v, 139.

41. **drips.** The word means primarily "to distil drops," or "to send forth bubbles." Mr. Vernon says that in the Florentine market the cheese-sellers, praising their Parmesan, cry, "Guardi 'l bel Parmegiano! lo vedi come geme!" ("See the fine Parmesan! See how it sends out drops of moisture!") They also use *piange* "weeps," in the same sense.

46. **could have believed.** Vergil means that if Dante could have accepted the story of Polydorus in the Aeneid as true, and had not regarded it as a fable, he would not have broken the twig; but that he (Vergil) stretched his own conscience in telling Dante to break it, in order to convince him of the fact.

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58. **I am the one, etc.** Pier delle Vigne or Petrus de Vinea, minister of Frederick II. In 1247, he was Frederick's private secretary and confidential adviser. On the suspicion of having intrigued with the Pope to poison the Emperor, he was blinded and thrown into prison, where he committed suicide. Dante, with many others, believed that he was the victim of jealousy and slander. No documentary evidence has ever been produced against him, and no reason for his treachery has appeared. He was a poet, and is credited with the invention of the sonnet. See "Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne, Ministre de l' Empereur Frédéric II." Par A. Huillard-Bréholles. Paris, 1866.

65. **the harlot.** Envy.

> "Envye
> Is lavender in the grete court alway.
> For she ne parteth, neither night ne day,
> Out of the hous of Caesar; thus seith Dante."
> CHAUCER, "Legend of Good Women," Prologue, 333 ff.

68. **Augustus.** Frederick. The name Augustus was commonly given to the Roman emperors from Octavianus down. Dante uses it as the proper name of Octavianus, Inf. i, 68; Purg. xxix, 116.

70. **taste of scorn.** Through his own disdainful feeling. In the Italian, Dante plays on the words "scornful" and "disdain."

75. **of honor so deserving.** The tribute thus paid to the master who had so unjustly and cruelly treated him, is most touching.

84. **such pity moves.** This is one of the few instances where Dante's compassion absorbs every other feeling.

87, 88. **whate'er thy words entreat of him.** The vindication of his memory in the world.

100. **spelt.** A kind of oats with a very small brown grain which throws out a great many sprouts.

103. **a vent.** Lit., "a window."

104. **our spoils.** Our bodies, to be reclaimed at the last Judgment.

105. **but not that anyone may clothe.** The law which ordains that the original body shall be resumed at the Judgment, does not apply in the case of the Suicides, since "it is not just that one should have that of which he deprives himself." They will bring their bodies to the forest, where each will be suspended on the tree in which the spirit has been confined.

110. **its shade harassed.** Because it is owing to the soul that the body has been slain.

Now follows the punishment of those who have done violence to themselves by squandering their property.

113. **like one, etc.** A very striking simile of one who hears a band of huntsmen in pursuit of a wild boar, crashing through the trees and bushes, with the pack of hounds in full cry.

118. **hurdle.** The meaning is disputed. Originally it appears to have signified "a fan" or "a screen." It was used of a green branch employed to drive away flies. Others explain it as a hedge of trees.

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119. **hasten, death.** Hasten, Death, to relieve me of torment by extinction.

121. **Lano.** A Sienese gentleman of extravagant habits. He is said to have been a member of "the Spendthrift Brigade" of Siena, which flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century (see Inf. xxix, 128-132), and which consisted of twelve members, each of whom contributed a large sum to a common fund of which they were sworn to spend lavishly. They hired a splendid palace, and gave the most costly entertainments, accompanied with superb presents to guests. One of their freaks was to fling out of the window the gold and silver table-furniture, as soon as the banquet was ended.

122. **Il Toppo.** The story was that Lano, who had ruined himself by his extravagance, served at the battle of the Toppo, a ford near Arezzo, where the Sienese were routed by the Aretines, and that he refused to flee, courting certain death. The point of the gibe is that if at the Toppo he had run as fast as he is running now, he would have escaped. His death was really suicide.

124. **he made a group.** The one who had addressed Lano hid himself in a bush, so that the bush and he formed but a single object.

133. **Jacomo da Sant' Andrea.** A Paduan. He appears to have been noted for reckless prodigality, and was supposed to have been put to death by Ezzelino. See note on Inf. xii, 112. He also appears to have had an incendiary mania, setting on fire not only others' houses, but his own. The spirit imprisoned in the bush in which Jacomo has taken refuge is another Suicide whose name is not given.

141. **my leaves dissevered.** By Jacomo's forcing himself into the bush.

144. **her first patron.** The god Mars was the original patron of Florence. A temple is said to have been erected to him in the time of Augustus. "And they caused to be brought white and black marbles and columns from many distant places, by sea; and then, by the Arno, they brought stone and columns from Fiesole, and founded and built the said temple in the place anciently called Camarti, and where the Fiesolans held their market. Very noble and beautiful they built it, with eight sides, and when it had been built with great diligence, they dedicated it to the god Mars who was the god of the Romans; and they had his effigy carved in marble in the likeness of an armed cavalier on horseback; they placed him on a marble pillar in the midst of that temple, and held him in great reverence, and adored him as their god so long as Paganism continued in Florence." Villani, Cron. i, 42. The change of patron was marked by the conversion of this temple into the church of St. John the Baptist, the old cathedral of Florence, now the Baptistery, which Dante calls "my fair Saint John." Inf. xix, 17.

147. **on the crossing of the Arno.** On the Ponte Vecchio. "And from the noble and beautiful temple of the Florentines . . . the Florentines removed their idol, which they called the god Mars, and placed it upon a high tower by the river Arno. . . .

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And although the Florentines had lately become Christians, they still observed many Pagan customs, and long continued to observe them, and they still stood in awe of their ancient idol of Mars." Villani, Cron. i, 60. It was said that, after the destruction of Florence, the statue of Mars fell into the Arno and remained there as long as the city continued in ruins. When the city was rebuilt by Charles the Great, the statue was recovered, and was set up again on a column on the bank of the river where the Ponte Vecchio was afterward built. Par. xvi, 47. It was carried away by a flood in 1333.

149. **those citizens.** Villani says that the Romans decreed that members of the best families in Rome should go to Florence to rebuild and inhabit it, which was done; and that all they who dwelt in the country around Florence, and her exiled citizens in every place, gathered themselves to the host of the Romans and of the Emperor to rebuild the city. Probably it is to these exiled citizens that Dante refers here.

151. **Attila** Attila did not destroy Florence or come near it. It is said that Dante confounded Attila with Totila, King of the Ostrogoths. Totila set out to besiege Florence in A.D. 542; but the siege was soon raised, and Florence never fell into the hands of the Goths. See Hodgkin, "Italy and Her Invaders," iv, 396, 399.

152. **I made myself a gibbet.** Hung myself at home. The name *Giubetto* was given to a house in Paris where executions—beheading, hanging, etc., were performed.

CANTO XIV

1. **Affection.** Dante's love for his native country prompts him to comply with the request of the shade (Cant. xiii, 141–142) who was a Florentine.

4. **the boundary.** Of the forest.

5. **from the third the second round.** They have reached the third round of the seventh circle (see preliminary note to Cant. xi). Here are punished the Violent against God. Such violence may be offered to God Himself (blasphemy), or to Nature, the ministress of God (Sodomy), or to God's gifts through Nature (Usury).

12. **a stretch of sand.**

> "Then saw I but a large feld,
> As fer as that I mighte see,
> Withouten toun or hous, or tree,
> Or bush, or gras, or ered lond;
> For al the feld was but of sond
> As smal as man may see yet lye
> In the desert of Libye."
>
> CHAUCER, "Hous of Fame," 482 ff.

14. **Cato.** Marcus, surnamed Cato the Less, and Cato Uticensis, from his death at Utica. Born B.C. 93. When the rupture between Pompey and Caesar occurred, he took the side of Pompey.

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He was not present at Pharsalia, B.C. 48, where Pompey was defeated. He went to Africa, hoping to meet Pompey, but heard of his death, and also that Pompey's father-in-law, Scipio, had gone to join Juba the King of Mauretania. In order to meet Scipio, Cato was compelled to make a long and painful march across a desert, in which his troops suffered severely. This is what Dante alludes to. See Lucan, Phars. ix, 371-378.

20. **diverse law seemed, etc.** That is, the three classes of transgressors were punished in different ways, and with different degrees of severity. The Blasphemers lie supine; the Sodomites are in continued motion; the Usurers sit hunched up.

25, 26. **freer were their tongues, etc.** Those who are lying down utter louder cries. The tongues which, in life, were loud in blasphemy, are here loosed in imprecations.

o'er all the sand. The fiery rain descended upon the sinners of all grades.

27. **dilated flakes of fire.** Appropriate to the Sodomites. See Gen. xix, 24. Fire is applied in Purgatory to the same offence. See Purg. xxvi, 30 ff.

28. **snow-flakes.** There is a reminder here of Homer, Il. xii, 278 ff.

> "As when, upon a winter day, the flakes
> Of snow fall thick, when Zeus the Counsellor,
> His shafts to men displaying, has begun
> To snow, and having laid the winds to rest,
> Unceasing pours it down."

The picture is very striking. The fire falls in *broad* flakes, "dilated." When there is no wind, the snow-flakes are broad. A wind cuts them into small bits.

30. **Alexander.** Dante drew this story from a fictitious letter of Alexander to Aristotle, entitled: "A Letter of Alexander the King to Aristotle his Teacher, concerning the Marvels of India." Dante probably found this passage of the letter in Albertus Magnus's "Treatise on Meteors" (see note on Inf. xii, 4). In the letter, however, the story is that snow fell, which Alexander ordered his soldiers to trample down. This was followed by rain, and then fiery clouds like torches were seen to descend from heaven, and the soldiers were ordered to tear their clothes and extinguish the flames with them. It is easy to see how the confusion in Dante's account came about.

29. **those torrid climes.** That is, through India, which is a torrid region. Not the hot parts of India through which Alexander's march lay.

35. **So was descending.** No translation can give the full effect of this line, which in its structure and movement conveys the slow, steady descent of the fiery flakes. It is impossible to read the Italian line rapidly; and the contrast is very striking with the quick movement and crackle of the two succeeding lines which describe the kindling of the sand like tinder under steel.

38. **dance.** The "dance" of the hands. A graphic picture of

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the hands moving rapidly to and fro. *Tresca* was a brisk, unrhythmical dance in which the hands were much used.

41. **freshly fallen.** Continually renewed.

45. **that mighty soul.** This was Capaneus, one of the seven mythical heroes who marched against Thebes. While in the act of scaling the walls, he was struck with lightning by Zeus, because he had dared to defy the Thunderer. Aeschylus thus describes him: "This is a giant greater than the other aforementioned, and his boast savors not of humanity; but he threatens fearful things against our towers, which may Fortune not bring to pass; for he declares that whether the god is willing or unwilling, he will lay waste our city, and that not even the wrathful bolt of Zeus darting down upon the ground shall stop him. And he is wont to compare both the lightnings and the thunderbolts to the heat of noontide." "Seven against Thebes," 411-418. See also 427-432. Dante took the story from Statius, Theb. x, 897-918.

48. **mellow.** Make more submissive.

52. **his smith.** Vulcan, who forged the thunderbolts of Zeus.

52. **in his anger.** Aroused by the threats of Capaneus.

55. **the others.** The other workmen, the Cyclopes.

56. **Mongibello.** Aetna: where Vulcan was supposed to have his forge. See Aen. xiii, 416-438.

57. **Phiegra.** In Thrace, where, according to the legend, Zeus defeated and slew the giants who attempted to storm Olympus.

60. **spoke with energy.** Vergil's indignation is roused by the contumacious blasphemy of Capaneus.

63. **no torment save thy rage.** No torment would be equal to your own impotent rage. See l. 70.

70. **ornaments, etc.** Ironical. His fury is represented as a decoration upon his breast.

75. **a little brook.** This is Phlegethon, at which they arrived after descending the slope to the seventh circle (Cant. xii, 47-48). Here they strike it again, where it issues from the forest of the Suicides.

77. **Bulicame.** A sulphurous, boiling spring, two miles west of Viterbo. From this issued a brook which formed a bath supposed to have medicinal qualities, and much frequented by invalids. In its course the stream traversed a quarter to which public prostitutes were confined. Being forbidden to use the baths to which other women resorted, they had the water conducted into their houses. This is what Dante refers to in the phrase "divide among themselves." Bassermann ("Dante's Spuren in Italien") says that the source is on a low, bare hill, from which, probably, are derived the copious deposits of the water. The spring is a sparkling, steaming pit of perhaps three metres in diameter, the water of which is almost too hot for the hand to bear. From it radiate five streams, all steaming, and bordered on each of their sides with rims of snow-white sediment. The petrifaction goes on very rapidly. Some channels lie considerably higher than the meadow-ground of the hill, from which they sharply detach themselves. Occasionally the deposits completely close the channels and take

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their place. Others are artificially deepened, and in these the steaming cascades take their way between margins of blinding white or intense yellow, in a way quite diabolical. The petrifaction is alluded to in ll. 80-81.

90. give me freely the repast. Dante asks that, as Vergil has awakened great curiosity in him, he will satisfy it in corresponding measure.

Vergil now describes the origin of the infernal rivers.

92. a barren land. Probably by comparison with former times, since Crete, originally, was populous and fertile. Boccaccio says that in his time the Venetians were oppressing Crete, had driven out many of the former inhabitants, and had turned a great part of the soil into pasture, or had caused it to lie fallow.

93. Crete. Now Candia in the Mediterranean.

whose king. Saturn.

94. was innocent. See Aen. viii, 319 ff.

95. Ida. See Aen. iii, 104-113.

97. Rhea. Also known as Cybele. According to the Greek legends she represented the fruitfulness of Nature. She was the mother of Zeus, to whom she gave birth in a cave on Mt. Ida, where she concealed him from the wiles of Saturn. She intrusted the care of him to her servants, the Curetes, who, in order to prevent his being discovered, made an uproar by beating their spears against their shields. Accordingly, the priests of the Cretan Rhea and the Idaean Zeus executed noisy war-dances at the festivals of those gods. The worship of Cybele, which was practised on the mountains of Lydia, Mysia, and Phrygia, was also accompanied with the clangor of horns, drums, and cymbals. Dante's account is drawn from Ovid, "Fasti," iv, 197-214.

101. old man. The following picture of the old man of Crete is founded on the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Dan. ii, 32, 33, which symbolized the monarchies of the ancient world. Dante's figure symbolizes the history of the human race as it passed successively through the golden, silver, and iron ages.

102. Damietta. Or Damiata. In Egypt, at the mouth of the easternmost branch of the Nile delta. Here it is used generally for the East, where were the great ancient monarchies. The figure faces Rome, the later seat of imperial authority, turning its back upon the old and vanished monarchies. The course of empire is from east to west.

104. his mirror. The ideal of monarchy, according to Dante, would be realized only in Rome. See De Mon. i, 15, 16.

of fine gold. The first or golden age. See Ovid, Metam. i, 89-112.

106. Silver. The gradual deterioration of the metals denotes the moral deterioration of mankind in the successive ages. For the silver age, see Ovid, Met. i, 114-124. It was the beginning of the decline and fall of the Empire.

107. brass. "A race more fierce in disposition and more ready for dreadful arms, not infamous nevertheless." Ovid, Metam. i, 125 ff. The brass marks a further decadence, ending in the division

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of the Eastern and Western Empires at the death of Theodosius. The division is figured by the fork, l. 106.

108. **chosen iron.** Iron, without admixture of any other metal, symbolizing the wars which form nearly the whole of the history of Dante's own age. See Ovid, Metam. i, 127 ff.

109. **baked clay.** The clay foot, on which the figure chiefly rests, denotes the vile and fragile basis on which both the ecclesiastical and political institutions of the time were founded. It may, perhaps, also indicate that the end of all things is at hand, especially as, to Dante, the last hope of the strong, triumphant Roman Empire seemed to be extinguished with the Hohenstaufen.

112. **dripping with tears.** The tears figure the sorrows of mankind caused by their sins, which have marked the successive ages of decline. None flow from the head, for the golden age was one of innocence and happiness.

113. **a passage make.** The tears make a passage through that cavern where the image is.

114. **this valley.** Hell.

114, 115. **Acheron, Styx, Phlegethon.** There is but one river bearing different names at different parts of its course.

118. **Cocytus.** The frozen lake at the bottom of the abyss.

120. **If thus the present rill, etc.** Dante's question is: "If this stream which we see has flowed all the way down through Hell from the upper world, how happens it that we have not met with it before?" Vergil's answer is, in effect, that although they have descended through six circles and have kept moving toward the left, they have not gone around the entire circumference of Hell; the implication being that the stream, though passing through the circles above, did not pass through any section of the circles which they had visited. In the seventh circle, Dante had already seen and crossed this stream. See Inf. xii, 47, 129. But evidently he does not recognize it as the same.

131. **thou sayest nothing.** Vergil had not included Lethe among the names in ll. 114-115.

132. **this rain.** The rain of tears flowing down from the cave on Ida.

135. **the boiling of the crimson stream.** Vergil assumes that Dante knows the derivation and meaning of the word Phlegethon, "flaming," and says that the fiery red of the river might have suggested its name. Dante, although he knew no Greek, might have learned this from Aen. vi, 550-551.

136. **thou shalt see Lethe.** In the Earthly Paradise on the summit of the mount of Purgatory.

141, 142. **they are not on fire.** Because not covered with the inflamed sand. See ll. 80-82.

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CANTO XV

1. **one of the hard margins.** A narrow space along the bank of Phlegethon, petrified by the stream. The bank on the top of which their path lies, is between the sandy plain and the stream. On the side of the sand the track is less than a man's height above the sand, so that Brunetto, walking on the sand, can reach the bottom of Dante's robe.

2, 3. **the smoke a shade diffuses.** The dense smoke arising from the boiling brook forms a cloud of vapor which extinguishes the fiery flakes before they fall into the water or upon the path.

4. **Wissant.** Very often explained as Cadsand, in the Netherlands, about fifteen miles northeast of Bruges. But Cadsand, apart from the fact that it is not in Flanders, is called in Italian, Gaggiante, not Guizzante. The reference is to the port of Wissant, between Calais and Cape Grisnez, in what was formerly a part of Flanders.

7, 8. **the Paduans along the Brenta.** The Brenta rises in the Tyrolese Alps above Trent, flows southeast and south, is joined by the Bacchiglione just below Padua, and empties into the Venetian lagoons.

9. **Chiarentana.** A mountainous province of Illyria, between Styria and the Tyrol. In early times it embraced the Val Sugana, where are the headwaters of the Brenta, and extended as far as Padua. Some, however, identify it with Canzana or Carenzana, a mountain-group in the neighborhood of Trent. Bassermann thinks it is the lake of Caldonazzo in the same neighborhood, which he says is in a special sense the source of the Brenta. He urges that, since all the points named are in the region of Verona, Dante must have become personally familiar with them during his residence with the Scaligers in that city. Apart from the identification of the name, Dante's meaning here is plain. The Paduans, before the warm season which melts the snows at the sources of the Brenta, take measures to guard themselves against the spring floods.

11. **whate'er it was** Two renderings are possible. "Whatever the height of the infernal dikes may have been"; or, "Whoever it was that made the dikes"; that is to say, whether God made them by the agency of angels or of devils. But the former of the two renderings falls in better with Dante's evident intent not to define specifically the height or the bulk of the dikes

18, 19. **peered with puckered brows.** Knitting the brows and narrowing the eyelids.

20 **an old tailor, etc.** The delicious realism is eminently characteristic of Dante.

28. **my face.** Many read here "hand" for "face." But see l. 44.

30. **Brunetto Latini.** (1210-1294.) It is disputed whether the name should be written Brunetto Latini or Brunetto Latino The majority of Dante scholars prefer the former, explaining that the full name was Brunetto dei Latini, that is, Brunetto of the Latini.

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Scartazzini claims that the correct *ancient* usage was Brunetto Latino, and is convinced that Brunetto always signed himself Latino or dei Latini, but says that if he were living now, he would write Brunetto Latini. As a fact, Brunetto himself uses both. He was a notary, which explains the title, Ser. He no doubt exerted an important influence upon Dante's intellectual development, but cannot have been his master, as is so often asserted, since he was about fifty-five years old when Dante was born. He was a Guelf. After the battle of Montaperti, he took refuge in France, where he compiled the work to which he alludes in l. 118, "the Tesoro" or "Livre dou Trésor." He returned to Florence after the battle of Benevento and the rout of the Ghibellines, and occupied several public positions. He is said to have been the first who introduced into Florence the study of oratory and political science. Of the sin for which he is placed in Hell there is no historical trace. Mr. Toynbee thinks he may have been merely the representative of the class of *littérateurs* who were especially addicted in those times to the vice in question, which he emphatically condemns in the "Tesoro." This work, as edited in 1863, "is," says Longfellow, "a stately quarto of some seven hundred pages, which it would assuage the fiery torment of Ser Brunetto to look upon." It is a collection of treatises on a variety of topics — the Beginning of Time, the Antiquity of Old Histories, the Vices and Virtues, the Rules of Rhetoric, and the Principles of Government.

46. **what chance or destiny.** Comp. Aen. vi, 531.

51. **ere I had reached full age.** This probably means, "before I reached my thirty-fifth year." The "valley" or the "gloomy wood" (Inf. i, 2, 15) probably refers to his going astray morally after Beatrice's death, which was in 1290, when Dante was twenty-five years old.

yestermorn. The morning of Good Friday—the real, and not an ideal Good Friday—on April 5th. He enters the seventh circle between 3 and 5 A.M. on Easter Eve. See Inf. xi, 120.

52. **I turned my back.** In the attempt to ascend the mountain of Virtue. Inf. i, 13, 14, 28

53. **returning thither.** Inf. i, 57-59.

54. **homeward.** Probably to Heaven; but some, back to earth. But Vergil did not lead Dante back to earth.

57. **if I—discerned aright.** In his astrological observations Brunetto possibly cast Dante's horoscope.

in the fair life. As compared with that of Hell. See note on Inf. vi, 51.

58. **so untimely.** Too early to be of service to Dante in his maturer work.

62. **Fiesole.** About three miles northeast of Florence. According to tradition, Florence was originally peopled, partly by Romans and partly by immigrants from Fiesole, who formed the Commons.

63. **of the mountain and the rock.** Florence was built largely of stone from the quarries of Fiesole. Brunetto says that the descendants of the Fiesolans still retain the quality of their stone. "The building material, consisting of heavy stones or *macigni*, was furn-

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ished by the neighboring stone-quarries of the hills of Fiesole and Golfolina on the Arno, at the spot where the river forces a narrow passage from the Florentine to the broad lower valley. Great blocks of freestone, rough-hewn and gradually blackened by exposure to the air, formed those massive walls that seemed as though built for eternity. These walls have stamped their character on the later Florentine architecture; for the fifteenth and even the sixteenth century remained faithful to this *opus rusticum*, which has been transmitted down to our own days, modified, it is true, in its harsher features, but essentially unchanged." A. von Reumont, "Lorenzo de' Medici."

65. **thy well-doing.** His opposing the entry of Charles of Valois into Florence, one of the causes for which he was banished in 1302. Comp. Par. xvii, 46 f.

67. **tart sorbs.** The sorb or service-tree. Germ., *Sperberbaum* or *Elsebeere;* French, *cœnier*. *Serves* is merely a form of *sorbs*, so that service-tree is a tree bearing sorbs. The tree bears a very acid fruit, like a small pear, and the wood is very hard. The old English name was *checker-tree*. Vergil (Geor. iii, 380) describes the Scythian nomads as drinking a kind of beer made of grain and sour sorbs.

68. **blind.** Two explanations are given: (1) The Florentines blindly trusted the promises of Totila, who promised that, in their interest, he would destroy Pistoia, and would give them great privileges. On these assurances they opened their gates and lodged him in the capitol, whereupon he caused the principal men of the city to be massacred, and despoiled the city. But see note on Inf. xiii, 151. (2) The Florentines allowed themselves to be imposed upon by the Pisans, who were about to undertake an expedition against the Saracens in Majorca. At this juncture they were menaced by the Luccans, who proposed to seize Pisa. They applied to Florence to protect their city during their absence, which the Florentines did. On their return in 1114, the Pisans sent to the Florentines as a thank-offering two porphyry columns taken at Majorca, and these being defaced by fire they covered them with scarlet cloth, a trick which the Florentines did not suspect or discover. Villani says: "And the said columns are those which stand in front of San Giovanni." They are still to be seen near the eastern gate of the Baptistery. There is little to choose between the explanations.

72. **shall be hungry.** The Whites and the Blacks will both be eager to secure Dante's adherence.

73. **far from the goat.** The proverb means that neither party will succeed in winning Dante. See note on Inf. vi, 62.

74. **a litter make, etc.** Let them tear each other in pieces.

75. **the plant.** The original Roman stock, if any still survives. From this stock Dante claimed descent. It is called "holy" as being originally ordained by God as the source of the power which should dominate the world.

82. **in my mind is fixed, etc.** Not only for Brunetto, but for others punished for this vice, Dante shows marked respect. See Inf. xvi, 18, 31, 57-59. "Which emotion is to overpower the other?

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There must be a conflict of sentiments. Which shall have prominence in the artistic result? It is a question of feeling (in some sense, we may say, of poetic feeling), not of morality; one of personal sentiment, not of moral judgment on Dante's part. His own decision, at any rate, is:

> "Sorrow and not disdain
> Did your condition fix within me so,
> That tardily it wholly is stripped off."
> MOORE, "Dante Studies," ii, 222.

89. **I note.** In my memory.

to gloss with other text. To be commented on and explained by Beatrice when he shall meet her.

94. **earnest.** The word means a payment made in security for the fulfilment of a contract. Used here of the prediction of Brunetto, which is the earnest of Dante's future misfortunes.

95. **not novel.** He had heard a similar prediction from Ciacco (Inf. vi, 65 ff.), and from Farinata (Inf. x, 80-83).

Fortune. Let Fortune go on turning her wheel, and the Fiesolan churls plying their drudgery. It matters not to me. All shall come to pass according to God's will.

99. **who marks it.** Who lays to heart the words of the wise.

107. **men of letters.** The vice of sodomy is said to have prevailed to a frightful extent among this class. The words of Benvenuto da Imola are too long to quote here. They are given in Mr. Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary," p. 3, under *Accorso*, *Francesco d'*.

109. **Priscian.** A Latin grammarian who lived in Constantinople at the beginning of the sixth century, A.D. Here he compiled his great Latin Grammar in eighteen books, which was epitomized, and used for a long time in the Middle Ages as a school-book, and which was the foundation of the earlier modern treatises on Latin grammar. There is no historical ground for accusing him of this vice.

110. **Francesco d' Accorso.** The son of the Florentine jurist, Accorso da Bagnolo, a lecturer in the University of Bologna. Francesco was Professor of Civil Law at Bologna, and subsequently went to England, where he lectured at Oxford in 1273. The Bolognese were so anxious to retain his services that they forbade his going under pain of confiscation of his property, and he was actually proscribed. He returned to Bologna in 1281, when his property was restored. He died in 1293.

112. **was transferred.** This is Andrea de' Mozzi, Bishop of Florence 1287-1295. In 1295, because of his depraved life, he was transferred by Boniface VIII ("the servant of servants") to the see of Vicenza. Benvenuto says: "often, while preaching to the people, he was wont to say many ridiculous things."

113, 114. **from Arno to Bacchiglione.** The Bacchiglione rises in the Alps, above Vicenza, through which it flows. It is referred to again, Par. ix, 47. Another illustration of Dante's denoting towns or countries by their rivers. See note on Inf. xii, 123.

118. **dust.** Announcing the approach of another troop.

119. **I must not be.** The transgressors moved in groups, ap-

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parently according to their rank or occupation, and these must not associate.

124. **for the green cloth.** Brunetto ran as fast as the one who wins the foot-race which took place annually outside of Verona, on the first Sunday in Lent. The prize was a piece of green cloth.

CANTO XVI

2. **the water.** Phlegethon.

4. **by beehives.**

> "I herde a noise aprochen blyve,
> That ferde as been don in an hyve,
> Agen her tyme of out-fleyinge;
> Right swiche a maner murmuringe,
> For al the world, hit semed me."
>
> CHAUCER, "Hous of Fame," 1521 ff.

8. **thy garb.** Most Italian cities were marked by a particular costume of their citizens. That of Florence was distinguished by the *lucco*, a closely fitting robe falling from the neck without folds, and the *capuccio*, the hood or beretta. Villani says that the dress of the Florentines was anciently fair, noble, and more dignified than that of any other nation, and that the citizens looked like Romans in togas.

18. **thee the haste befitted.** It would be more becoming for you to hasten to meet them than for them to hasten to you.

19. **strain.** See l. 7-9.

21. **made of themselves a wheel.** They moved round and round in order to get a near view of Dante who was on the causeway above; and also that they might not incur the penalty for stopping. See Inf. xv, 37-39. Comp. Aen. vi, 329.

22. **As—champions.** Like boxers or wrestlers moving round each other, and looking for a chance for a grip or a blow. The use of the imperfect, "were wont," would seem to point to the contests of the Greek and Roman palaestra, which, in Dante's age, were things of the past. The alternative reading, "are wont," is supposed to refer to the hired combatants in the "judicial duels," as they were called, by which suits were determined in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

27. **in contrary direction.** They were continually looking backward in order to see Dante; their necks being turned in a direction contrary to that in which their feet were moving.

29. **unstable.** Because of the yielding sand.

33. **trail thy living feet.** The idea is that the living body lacks the lightness of movement which marks the spirit. See Inf. viii, 28; xii, 30-31.

37. **Gualdrada.** A daughter of Bellincion Berti, who is mentioned, Par. xv, 112-113, as a representative of "the good old time" of Florence, when the citizens walked the streets girded with a

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leathern belt with its clasp of bone. There is a story of her that she appeared with her mother in the church on the festival of St. John, at which the Emperor Otho IV was present. The Emperor, being struck with her beauty, asked her father who she was; to which he replied: "She is the daughter of one who, I dare say, would let you kiss her if you wished." Gualdrada, overhearing this, said to her father: "Do not make such courteous promises at the expense of my modesty, for certainly, unless by violence, no one shall ever kiss me except he whom you shall give me as my husband." The Emperor, being greatly pleased at these words, called forward a noble youth named Guido Beisangue, afterward known as Guido the Elder, insisted on his marrying her, and bestowed on her a large dowry.

38 **Guido Guerra.** Gualdrada's grandson, a Guelf leader of Florence. He endeavored to dissuade the Florentine Guelfs from the expedition against Siena which resulted in the ruin of the Guelf party in Florence. After the flight of the Guelfs to Romagna, he acted as their leader. At the battle of Benevento he contributed materially to the defeat of Manfred. Charles of Anjou in 1266 appointed him his Vicar in Tuscany. He died in 1272. He is described as ambitious, warlike, accomplished in arms, and of a lofty, generous, and cheerful spirit.

40. **Tegghiaio Aldobrandi.** A Florentine Guelf. Dante had already inquired about his fate of Ciacco (Inf. vi, 81). He opposed the declaration of war against the Sienese, which resulted in the battle of Montaperti.

43. **Jacopo Rusticucci.** See Inf. vi, 82. He was said to be of low birth, politic, wealthy, and liberal. The fact that he is the only one whose surname is mentioned among those named in Inf. vi, 81-82, would seem to indicate that he was not specially distinguished. Benvenuto says that his vile life was owing to the ferocious temper of his wife, with whom it was impossible for him to live.

52. **sorrow.** See note on Inf. xv, 82.

59. **I leave the gall.** Replying to the request in ll. 31-32.

68. **Guglielmo Borsiere.** A Florentine, said to have been a purse-maker, as his name imports.

71. **provokes us.** By his grievous reports of the condition of Florence.

the new folk. Either an uncultivated class who had come into the city from the country (see Par. xvi, 49-50), or a commercial class who had become rapidly rich. Others think the reference is to the two factions of the Cancellieri, transplanted in 1300 from Pistoia to Florence. See note on Inf. vi, 62, 67.

72. **sudden gains.** By trade and usury.

75. **with face uplifted.** Toward Florence, which he apostrophizes.

77. **when the truth is heard.** As men look when something that is told them carries conviction to their minds.

79. **at other times.** Dante has replied in three lines to the question asked by the three, and has indicated, besides, the cause and the consequences of the condition of Florence. The three commend his response for its fulness, brevity, and clearness; and say: "If

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on other occasions you can with so little effort satisfy others, you will be happy if, by your free speaking, you can do so without more risk to yourself than you incur at our hands."

84. **I was.** When, having all the dangers of this journey through Hell behind you, you can speak of them as past. Comp. Aen. i, 204.

85. **talk about us to the people.** See note on Inf. vi, 92.

85, 86. **they broke their wheel.** See l. 21. They ceased moving round.

93. **that stream.** The river, as the following lines tell, was called Acquacheta in the first part of its course, as far as Forli. At Forli it became "vacant of that name." (For the phrase, see Purg. v, 103-104.) It then became the Montone, which Dante does not mention by name, which flows through Forli and into the sea near Ravenna. He further says that this river is the first which, from Monte Viso eastward on the left flank of the Apennines, has an independent course: *i.e.*, it is the first which, rising on the northern side of the Apennines, does not flow into the Po. In Dante's time that would have been true. The river which, owing to changes in the course of the Po, now answers to this description, is the Lamone, which is the first to make its own way to the Adriatic; but at that time the Lamone ended in the swamps at the mouth of the Po.

99. **San Benedetto of the Mount.** San Benedetto is a mountain in the Etruscan Apennines, on the slope of which, above Forli, is a Benedictine monastery called San Benedetto dell' Alpe. The name Montone is borne by the river as high up as this point, near which it is joined by a torrent called Acquacheta. This region was familiar to Dante. See Conv., iv, 11, 5.

101. **shelter for a thousand should have been.** This is sometimes explained that the river plunged at a single leap over a precipice high enough for a thousand cascades. The correct explanation, however, is probably that given by Boccaccio, who says that he was told by the Abbot of San Benedetto that the Count Guidi to whom the neighboring lands belonged, proposed to build near the cascade a village for the accommodation of his vassals of that district, but died before he could carry out his design. Thus it was intended that room should be provided for a thousand. Bassermann says: "When the cascade is viewed from above, especially from the edge of the precipice, one is impressed by the resemblance to the infernal landscape pictured by Dante. Dante evidently had in his mind's eye the view of the fall from above." His whole description will repay reading. Longfellow remarks that this comparison shows the delight which Dante took in the study of physical geography. To reach the waterfall of Acquacheta, he traverses in thought the entire valley of the Po, stretching across the whole of northern Italy.

106. **a cord.** It has been said that this is perhaps the most perplexing piece of symbolism in the whole poem. No entirely satisfactory explanation appears to be possible. Dante says that with the cord he had once attempted to take the panther with the

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spotted skin (Inf. i, 31-33). The panther is the symbol of lust, and the cord is therefore supposed to signify the restraints of monastic life. To one fourteenth-century commentator, and to him alone, the story is due that Dante became a lay member of the Franciscan order, whose emblem was the cord, from which they were called Cordeliers. What, then, is the meaning of Vergil's throwing down the cord to summon Geryon? It is answered that the cord signifies righteousness; and Isa. xi, 5, and Eph. vi, 14 are cited. Hence the cord is used to summon Geryon, because it is by the truth that fraud is forced to come to the light and show itself. Scartazzini, who believes that Dante did join the Franciscans, explains as follows: Dante, by becoming a Franciscan and assuming the cord, endeavored to capture the panther, or, in other words, to subdue carnal temptation. But this did not suffice. He must also witness the eternal punishment of lust, as he has already done. Through seeing this, he has inwardly prevailed. Vergil, therefore, causes him to take off the cord, never to resume it, for he throws it into the abyss. Vergil used the cord to summon Geryon because he wished "to pay the image of fraud in his own coin." How often the monastic habit proved itself to be only "a foul image of fraud!" The cord signifies not a virtue, but a vice which Dante forever abjures. Dean Plumptre in his elaborate biography of Dante also makes an ingenious plea for the Franciscan story. On the whole, the case seems hopeless. The Franciscan story is, at best, doubtful. Is it absolutely necessary to assume any allegory at all?

116. **how much caution.** Dante had said to himself that something strange would answer the signal, but did not conceive of such a horror as Geryon. Vergil reads his thought, and discerns how far short of the truth it comes. Hence Dante says that one should be cautious in dealing with those who discern the workings of the mind.

122, 123. **to that truth which wears the guise of falsehood, etc.** A man should refrain, as far as possible, from uttering a thing which, though true, has the appearance of falsehood. Dante is at a loss how to describe such an extraordinary phenomenon as Geryon without laying himself open to the suspicion of lying.

128. **so may they not be destitute, etc.** So may the verses not have a short-lived reputation.

134, 135. **Stretches forth himself above, etc.** Stretches forward and upward the upper part of his body, and draws in his feet, as a diver does when coming to the surface.

CANTO XVII

1. **the monster.** Dante's Geryon does not correspond to the monster of classical fable. The latter was a winged giant with three bodies, and kept his herd of red cattle in the island of Erythia in the extreme west of the ocean. It was one of Hercules' twelve labors to slay Geryon and to carry off his cattle. Dante's Geryon

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is purely his own invention, save that the scorpion-tail is taken from Rev. ix, 10. His selection as an image of fraud may be due to a tradition that he lured strangers to his dwelling and then slew them.

6. **the marble causeway we had trod.** The petrified causeway along the bank of the Phlegethon.

10. **his face.** The face signified hypocrisy; the serpent-body deceit and malice; the claws, rapacity; the knots and shields on the body, snares and subterfuges.

15. **Knots—little shields.** Knots signify the entanglements of fraud. Shields, lit., "little wheels or rings," such as would be wrought into chain-armor, signifying the coverings and concealments which the fraudulent apply to their deceits, as the soldier covers himself with his shield.

16. **Turks, Tartars.** The Tartar cloths were highly esteemed in the Middle Ages. In old French, rich Oriental stuffs were called "Tartarin," or "Tartaire." By the Turks are meant Asiatic Turks. Their fabrics, like those of the Tartars, were highly prized.

17. **with colors more.** Benvenuto says that Dante, desiring to express the infinite variety and shades of fraud, shows that he cannot find any comparison suitable to the subject, since there is no cloth woven that exactly resembles the variegated colors on the skin of this monster; so he goes on to show that the most intricate and elaborate embroidery known to man would fall short of what he wishes to describe. There is a difference of opinion as to the construction; some taking *colori, sommesse, soprapposte* as three nouns in apposition; thus: "more colors, (more) ground work, (more) overlaying." Others take *sommesse* and *soprapposte* as adjectives agreeing with *colori;* thus: "more colors underlaid and overshot."

18. **Arachne.** A Lydian maiden, daughter of a famous dyer in purple, an expert in the art of weaving, in which she challenged Athene to compete with her. She produced a piece of cloth on which the amours of the gods were depicted, and as Athené could find no fault with it, she tore it in pieces, and Arachne hanged herself. Her story is told by Ovid, Metam. vi, 5 ff. She is sculptured on the pavement of the first terrace of Purgatory. Purg. xii, 43.

20. **wherries.** Flat-bottomed boats for navigating rivers.

22. **the beaver.** From the beaver's habit of sitting on the bank with his tail in the water arose the story that he dropped oil upon his tail and so attracted fish. The beaver does not feed on fish but on vegetable food.

26. **fork.** The forked tail is an emblem of the two species of fraud described in Inf. xi, 55-58.

35. **near the precipice.** Lit., "the place which is lacking." Where the ground ceases.

43. **the melancholy people sat.** See note on Inf. xi, 102-103. They were sitting. Comp. John ii, 14. Representing acquisition without labor. "They make the money work." Scartazzini.

52, 53. **none of them I knew.** As in the case of the avaricious and prodigal. See Inf. vii, 52, and note. All individuality was destroyed, so that they were unrecognizable.

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54. **a pouch.** Ruskin says that attaching the purse to the neck as a badge of shame is found before Dante's time, as in the windows of Bourges cathedral. They had kept their eyes fastened on their purses in life; their eyes feed on them eternally, only they are empty.

55. **blazon.** Coat-of-arms, indicating that they were persons of good family.

58. **a lion.** The Florentine family of the Gianfigliazzi, Guelfs, exiled from Florence in 1248. They sided with the Blacks.

61. **a goose.** The Ubbriacchi of Florence. Ghibellines.

63. **sow.** The Scrovigni of Padua. The one who addresses Dante is Rinaldo, a noted usurer.

67. **my fellow-citizen Vitalian.** Vitaliano is still living. He is the only one of the usurers whom Dante mentions by name.

69. **thundering.** The Florentine usurers who are sitting with the speaker thunder in his ears.

70. **the knight supreme.** A Florentine, Giovanni Buiamonte, whose bearings were three kites' or eagles' beaks. Not "goats." "knight supreme" signifies the prince of usurers.

71, 72. **his mouth twisted.** Comp. Isa. lvii, 4.

79. **by stair like this.** From this point there are no more natural descents into the depths below.

88. **admonitions.** Or "reproofs." Not "threats."

105. **Phaethon.** The name means "shining." He was a son of Apollo by the Ocean-nymph Clymené. Having been told that Apollo was not his father, he requested that god to let him prove his parentage by driving the chariot of the sun for one day. He was too weak to hold the horses, and they veered from their track and approached so near to the earth as nearly to set it on fire. In answer to the prayer of Earth, Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt, and flung him into the Po. The story is from Ovid, Metam. ii, 47-324. Dante often alludes to it. See Chaucer, "Hous of Fame," 941 ff.

106. **as still appears.** It was said that the Milky Way was caused by the scorching of the heavens by Phaethon's accident.

107. **Icarus.** The son of the artificer Daedalus of Crete. Daedalus constructed wings for him, with which he attempted to fly; but having approached too near the sun, the heat melted the wax with which the wings were fastened, and he fell into the sea and was drowned. Dante took the story from Ovid, Metam. viii, 183-235.

115. **I perceive it not.** He did not perceive the descent except by the wind which blew from beneath upon his face.

127. **falcon.** The falcon is one of Dante's favorite figures. See Inf. xxii, 135; Purg. xix, 67; Par. xix, 34.

128. **lure.** The figure of a bird tied to a stick, and used to recall the falcon.

135. **sheer.** Cut sheer down. "As if hewn out with an adze." Ruskin. See "Modern Painters," Vol. IV, Ch. 16.

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CANTO XVIII

The poets are now in the eighth circle. This circle, called Malebolge or Evil-Pits, is devoted to those who have defrauded persons not bound to them by any special tie of relationship, friendship, or gratitude. See Introductory Note to Canto XI. For the description of Malebolge, see Introduction, under "Dante's Hell."

1. **Malebolge.** *Bolgia* means a pocket or wallet. Hence a hollow place, a trench.

2. **iron hue.** Ruskin ("Modern Painters," III, Ch. 15) says: "Dante's idea of rock-color . . . is that of a dull or ashen grey, more or less stained by the brown of iron-ochre, precisely as the Apennine limestones nearly always are; the grey being peculiarly cold and disagreeable. . . . The whole of Malebolge is made of this rock."

3. **the circling wall.** The encompassing wall of the circular space within which all the trenches lie.

5. **a pit.** Or "well," leading down to the ninth circle.

7. **the belt, etc.** The belt which remains of the eight circles, and which lies between the mouth of the well and the foot of the rock (xvii, 135) that forms the wall of the shaft at the bottom of which Geryon had set them down.

10. **figure such, etc.** The passage is somewhat involved. The sense is: Malebolge presents such a general appearance as do castles girt with successive trenches for the security of the walls; and as in such castles bridges lead from their gate to the outer bank of the trenches, so bridges of rock, starting from the foot of the wall of the shaft, span the successive trenches of Malebolge. These trenches, of course, run round the whole circuit of Hell.

17. **the dikes and trenches cut across.** That is, traverse the successive trenches and the embankments between them, down to the well at the bottom, at which they concentrate as the spokes of a wheel at the hub.

25, 26. **on our side the middle.** The middle of the track at the bottom of the trench. Remembering that each trench goes round the entire circuit of Hell, we may draw an imaginary line in the middle of the floor of the trench, running parallel to its circumference. Along this floor two companies of sinners are moving in opposite directions, one company on each side of the imaginary line. The two poets are moving from right to left. The company on the side nearest to them moves from left to right, and therefore comes facing them. The company on the other side of the line moves from right to left, in the same direction with the poets, but faster, so that some of them are continually abreast of Vergil and Dante. This Dante now proceeds to illustrate.

29. **just as the Romans, etc.** Toward the close of 1299, Pope Boniface VIII issued a proclamation granting full absolution to all Romans who, during the year 1300 should visit once a day for thirty days the churches of the Apostles at Rome, and to all strangers who should

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do the same for fifteen days. Thus was inaugurated the first Jubilee of the Roman Church, on Christmas, 1299. The roads from Britain, Germany, and Hungary were thronged with pilgrims. At times there were two hundred thousand strangers in Rome. The Chronicler Ventura declares that the total number of pilgrims was not less than two millions. This is what Dante means by "the vast concourse," l. 30.

31. **across the bridge.** It is said that, in order to prevent confusion and disaster among the crowds going across the bridge of St. Angelo to St. Peter's, and returning, a barrier was erected along the middle of the bridge, by which those going and those returning were kept separate.

33. **the Castle.** The castle of St. Angelo, formerly the Mausoleum of Hadrian, begun by Hadrian about A.D. 130, and completed by Antoninus Pius ten years later. After Hadrian's time it was the tomb of many Roman Emperors, down to the time of Septimius Severus, A.D. 211. Its first conversion into a fortress dates, probably, from about A.D. 423. At the close of the sixth century, according to the Church tradition, while Pope Gregory the Great was engaged in a procession to St. Peter's for the purpose of performing a solemn service to avert the pestilence which followed the inundation of 589, the Archangel Michael appeared to him standing on the summit of the fortress, in the act of sheathing his sword, to signify that the plague was stayed. The name St. Angelo was derived from this tradition.

34. **St. Peter's.** This was the old church, founded A.D. 306 by Constantine. The present edifice was begun in 1503 and finished in 1590.

Whether or not Dante was personally present at Rome during the Jubilee, is a much-disputed question. It was long held as a historical fact that in the autumn of 1301 Dante was sent to Rome with an embassy to Boniface VIII, to avert the coming of Charles of Valois to Florence; and that he was absent from Florence when the decree of his banishment was issued. This has been disproved. That Dante may have been in Rome in 1299 or 1300 is possible; but all that the evidence adduced amounts to is that there are in the "Commedia" allusions to well-known features of the city, and to this incident of the Jubilee.

35. **the Mount.** It is impossible to say positively what Dante refers to. Some good authorities hold to Monte Giordano, directly across the river from St. Angelo, and not far from the bridge. In the twelfth century it was an artificial mound formed of fragments of old buildings. In Dante's time it was one of the seats of the Orsini family. Gregorovius says that in 1334 it formed a quarter entirely surrounded with walls. Others hold that Monte Gianicolo is meant. This is on the same side of the river as St. Angelo; but owing to a bend in the stream it faces one coming from the castle. On a spur of Monte Gianicolo is the Church of San Pietro in Montorio, said to have been founded by Constantine near the spot where Peter suffered martyrdom. Still others maintain that Dante meant the Capitoline Hill. Probabilities, on the whole, seem to favor Monte Giordano.

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36. **horned demons.** The horns are a symbol of adultery.

39. **lift their shanks.** Or "kick up their heels." The word *berze*, "shanks," occurs only here. There is a grim contemptuousness in its use.

52. **Venedico Caccianimico.** Of Bologna. Prominent in party-politics, a violent Guelf, and expelled from Bologna in 1289.

53. **such stinging Salse.** Salse was the name of a ravine outside of Bologna, where the bodies of criminals were thrown, and minor criminals were whipped by the public executioner. Benvenuto says that the boys of Bologna might be heard saying to one another: "Your father was thrown into the Salse." There is a play upon the word, which also means "pickle." Addressing a Bolognese, Dante says sarcastically, "What brought you into such a stinging pickle?" implying at the same time that he is in the appropriate place for a whipped malefactor.

57. **Ghisolabella.** The two words form one name. Not, as often rendered, "the fair Ghisola." The vile story repels comment. She was the sister of Caccianimico, who was said to have betrayed her into the hands of the Marquis of Este, probably Obizzo II, who appears among the tyrants in Inf. xii, 113.

58. **however may be told.** Implying that there was more than one version of the story.

62. **not so many tongues, etc.** Caccianimico means that there are more Bolognese in the first trench than there are in the world above. There are not so many people living between the Savena and the Reno (the two rivers between which Bologna lies) who are taught to say *sipa*, the Bolognese for *sia*, "let it be," or, in other words, who used the Bolognese dialect, as there are in this trench.

70. **a crag.** One of the rock-bridges which started from the outside wall of Malebolge, and spanned the whole series of trenches.

72. **splintered mass.** Lit., a splinter or chip. The underlying idea is that of a fragment split off from a larger mass.

73. **endless circlings.** The endless movement of the transgressors round the trench.

The poets now cross the sinners' line of march, and begin to cross the bridge toward the edge of the next trench.

74. **it opens.** The bridge forms over the track an arch, under which the shades pass.

77. **thou hast not yet beheld.** Vergil means that Dante has as yet only seen the faces of the company which moves from left to right and confronts the poets. The faces of those who are going in the same direction with themselves, and who keep coming up behind them and walking parallel with them, he has not seen. Upon these they now look down from the right-hand side of the bridge.

86. **Jason.** The leader of the Argonautic Expedition in quest of the golden fleece at Colchis.

88. **Lemnos.** One of the largest islands in the Aegean Sea, nearly midway between Mt. Athos and the Hellespont. Jason and his Argonauts touched at the island, and found it inhabited only by women who had murdered their husbands, and had chosen as their queen Hypsipyle, the daughter of their former king, Thoas, whose

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flight she had aided. Jason seduced Hypsipyle and abandoned her.

93. **already cheated.** Deceived the other women, and saved Thoas, her father. Dante has taken the story mainly from Statius, Theb. v, 403 ff. He alludes to Hypsipyle again, Purg. xxii, 115; xxvi, 100-101.

95. **Medea.** Daughter of Aeëtes, King of Colchis. By her aid Jason obtained the fleece, and she fled with him as his wife to Greece, where he deserted her for Glaucé, the daughter of Creon, King of Corinth. Medea took vengeance upon him by murdering the two children she had borne him, and by destroying Glaucé with a poisoned robe.

100. **intersects.** The point where the bridge joins the embankment between the first and the second trench. At this point is the spring of another arch crossing the second trench, so that the end of the first bridge forms a buttress or shoulder for the second. The bridges across the several trenches succeed each other in straight lines to the well at the bottom.

103. **the next trench.** In this trench are punished Flatterers. They win unlawful influence over others, and gain their own ends by false representations which feed the self-conceit of their victims, and impair or destroy their rational self-estimate. Thus they minister to all uncleanness, and are therefore appropriately immersed in filth. Note the contemptuous terms which follow: "whimper" and "muzzle."

whimpering. The original word is in common use in Florence to denote the cries of a woman beginning to be in labor. Scartazzini thinks that it is applied to the flatterers as being vile and effeminate men.

110. **without our mounting.** They could not get a good view of the bottom of the second trench without climbing to the summit of the arch.

117. **it was not apparent.** His head was so covered with filth, that one could not tell whether he was shaven like a priest or not.

124. **Alessio Interminei.** A native of Lucca of whom nothing is known.

126. **his pate.** Lit., "his pumpkin." Another contemptuous epithet.

132. **filthy nails.** Comp. Aen. iv, 673.

135. **Thais.** The name of a courtesan introduced by Terence in his "Eunuchus." Dante treats her as a real personage; and having taken the story at second-hand from Cicero's citation ("De Am." xxvi), he puts into the mouth of Thais the words which, in the play, are spoken by another character. The point of the reply attributed to Thais seems to lie in the word "marvellous." Cicero's words are: "Not so many desire to be endowed with virtue itself as to seem to be so. Flattery delights such men; when conversation formed according to their wishes is addressed to such persons, they think those deceitful addresses to be the evidence of their merits . . . 'Does then Thais pay me many thanks?' It was enough to answer 'Yes, many;' but he says, 'Monstrous.' The flatterer always exaggerates that which he for whose pleasure he speaks wishes to be great."

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CANTO XIX

1. **O Simon Magus.** Simony, according to Canon law, is the gravest of ecclesiastical crimes. The name was derived from the story of Simon Magus, Acts viii, 18-23, who offered the Apostles money for the gift of the Holy Ghost. As the imposition of Bishops' hands was supposed to impart the Holy Spirit, the buying and selling of ordination was regarded as simony. The term was gradually extended to cover traffic in ecclesiastical offices and in the rights of ecclesiastical patronage, and to the purchase of admission to monastic orders. According to primitive usage, a candidate for an Episcopal vacancy was elected by the clergy and people of the diocese, subject to the approval of the Metropolitan Bishop and his suffragans. The Merovingian and Carlovingian Kings of France and the Saxon Emperors of Germany conferred bishoprics by direct nomination, or by recommendatory letters to the electors; but the honors and estates of a see were often granted by sovereigns, prelates, and lay-patrons of the tenth and eleventh centuries, only on liberal payments by the recipients. Thus the power of nomination and investiture became an instrument of the grossest rapacity, and church-offices were bestowed on the highest bidder. The decree of the Great Roman Synod under Hildebrand, in 1075, entirely abrogating the right of investiture by the temporal sovereign, gave the watch-word for a war of a hundred years between the Church and the secular power.

5. **the trumpet sound.** That your deeds should be publicly proclaimed.

7. **tomb.** The bolgia or trench.

17. **my fair St. John.** The Baptistery of St. John the Baptist at Florence. Formerly the Cathedral.

18. **the stand of the baptizers.** At the corners of the great baptismal cistern of San Giovanni were cylindrical openings in the thickness of its wall, in which the officiating priests stood in order to escape the pressure of the crowd. The font with its circular holes is no longer to be seen at Florence, having been destroyed in 1576; but a similar one may be seen in the Baptistery at Pisa. In this there are four of these wells.

20. **was stifling.** Not "drowning," as there was no water in the holes. Probably some boy, in sport, had put himself into the well head downward.

21, 22. **every man to undeceive.** This account may convince people that I did not do it wantonly.

27. **withes or ropes.** *Ritorte* are flexible green willow or osier twigs used as bands to fasten fagots; *strambe* are ropes of grass, plaited but not twisted.

35. **by that lower bank.** The embankment on the inner side of the trench, separating it from the fourth bolgia. This embankment was, of course, lower than the one on the other side between the third and second trenches, since the ten pits lie on a slope, although the bottom of each pit is level.

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46, 47. **with his shanks—lamenting.** Another mocking touch.

48. **upside down.** "Throughout the Canto there seems to be a sort of running parody on the keynote of *vice versa* or topsy-turvy. . . . The priests in the beautiful Baptistery of St. John stand ministering in the circular stations provided for them. These false priests have just similar receptacles, neither larger nor smaller, in which they stand, but head downward. The saints above have an aureole of glory upon their *heads;* these similarly eminent denizens of Hell (these infernal saints, if I may use such a phrase) have their *feet* surrounded by lambent fire, and so, as we may say, bear upon the soles of their feet this mock aureole of their shame and torment." Moore, "Dante Studies," ii, 229.

52. **when fixed.** Fixed in his place for execution. The reference is to a punishment sometimes inflicted on assassins or other malefactors, in which the offender was placed head downward in a hole, into which earth was thrown in small quantities until he was suffocated. The picture is impressive of the criminal calling back his confessor in order that he may delay the fatal moment.

55. **cried out.** The occupant of the hole was Pope Nicholas III, enthroned in 1277, died in 1280.

56. **O Boniface.** Nicholas mistakes Dante for Boniface VIII, who died in 1303. Dante's vision is in 1300.

Boniface VIII was an object of Dante's special aversion. He succeeded Celestine V in 1295. He was crafty, rapacious, ambitious, with an exaggerated conception of the papal prerogative, and a reckless arrogance in asserting it. Contemporary Christendom wrote him down in the words: "He came in like a fox, he ruled like a lion, he died like a dog." He incurred the enmity of the Franciscan Order by refusing to annul the provision of their charter which disqualified them from holding property, and by seizing for his own use a large sum which they had deposited with bankers as the price of the annulment. He came into collision with the powerful Roman house of the Colonnas, and destroyed Palestrina, their city. By his enormous and arrogant demands he embroiled himself with Philip the Fair of France and Edward I of England. He determined to sever the property of the Church from all secular obligations, and to declare himself the sole trustee of all property held throughout Christendom by the clergy, the monastic bodies, and the universities; so that without his consent no grant or subsidy, aid or benevolence could be raised on these properties by any sovereign in the world. The principal cause of Dante's detestation of Boniface was his invitation to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip IV of France, to go to Florence, ostensibly to reconcile the Bianchi and Neri, but really to carry out his own plan of becoming master of Tuscany. The entrance of Charles into Florence in November, 1301, was the signal for the triumph of the Blacks, who had treacherously aided Boniface, the expulsion of the Whites, and Dante's life-long banishment. In 1303, the Colonnas appeared with a troop of horse at Anagni to which the Pope had retired for the summer. They attacked his palace, seized him, placed him backward on a horse, and led him through the town. He was con-

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veyed to Rome and thrown into prison, where he died on October 11th. With him fell the Hildebrandian Papacy. Dante repeatedly lashes Boniface in the "Commedia." See Inf. xxvii, 73-117; Purg. xx, 88; Par. xii, 90; xxvii, 22-27; xxx, 146-148. In one of these passages, however, Purg. xx, 88, he deprecates the violence shown to him at Anagni; but he pays this respect to the office, not to the man.

57. **by several years the writing lied.** By "the writing" is meant the scroll of the future which the damned were able to read (see Inf. x, 101-104). Nicholas says, in effect, that Boniface has arrived (as he supposes) three years too early, and that therefore the book of the future has lied to him.

59, 60. **carry off by fraud.** To espouse with guile the fair lady, the Church. The reference is to Boniface's crafty devices to secure the Papacy for himself by bringing about the abdication of Celestine V, whom he afterward put in prison, where he died in 1296. See note on Inf. iii, 58.

61. **do her outrage.** By simony. He exposed the church for sale as a prostitute. "He made many of his friends and confidants cardinals in his time, among others two very young nephews, and his uncle, his mother's brother, and twenty of his relations and friends of the little city of Anagna, bishops, and archbishops of rich benefices." Villani, Cron. viii, 64.

62, 63. **fail to understand.** Dante, not being aware of Nicholas's mistake, is puzzled at his words about Boniface.

74. **son of the she-bear.** A member of the Orsini family whose family badge was a she-bear, *Orsa*.

76. **I pocketed, and here myself.** Referring to the hole into which he was thrust. A grim joke under the circumstances.

82. **already is the time, etc.** Nicholas means that Boniface will not remain in the hole as long as he has done. Nicholas died in 1280, and he had therefore been there for twenty years. Boniface was to die in 1303; Benedict XI, his successor, in 1304; Clement V in 1314; so that Boniface would "stand planted with red feet" a little over ten years, when Clement would take his place.

86. **a lawless shepherd.** Clement V, a native of Gascony, Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1299. Elected Pope in 1305, and enthroned at Lyons. He appears never to have entered Italy. It was during his pontificate that the papal See was transferred to Avignon, where it remained for over seventy years. Thus are explained Dante's words "from the west." He is called "a pastor without law" because he owed his election to an intrigue between Philip the Fair and the French party among the cardinals. The King promised to make him Pope on condition that he would swear to grant him six favors, to which Clement agreed. See the story in Villani, Cron. viii, 80.

87, 88. **cover up both him and me.** Clement will come and take his place over Boniface and Nicholas, who will fall down into the recesses below.

Jason. See 2 Maccabees, iv, 7 ff. In 175-165 B.C. Antiochus Epiphanes was on the throne of Syria. He was bent upon making

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his whole kingdom Greek in language, institutions, customs, and religion. In Judea he had a following of which Jason, the brother of the High Priest Onias III, was the leader. Jason desired the office of High Priest, which conferred great political as well as religious power; since the High Priest was virtually the head of the nation. The parallel drawn by Dante between Clement and Jason is obvious.

92. **too stupid.** I was a fool to waste so much time in censuring one already damned.

93. **I answered him.** The following sentences are scathing. "If only as a specimen of perfect oratory, this invective deserves everlasting recollection." J. A. Symonds.

100. **the guilty soul.** Judas. See Acts i, 15–22.

103. **the ill-gotten money.** After the death of Manfred, the son of Frederick II, in 1265, Sicily passed by papal gift into the hands of Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France. His cruelties in Sicily caused a conspiracy against him, headed by Peter of Aragon, the husband of Manfred's daughter. Charles had his eye on the East, and was planning to add Constantinople to his realm; but the conspirators were in conference with Palaeologus the Eastern Emperor. Palaeologus offered Nicholas III a vast sum to enable him to defy the power of Charles; and Nicholas consented to recognize the claim of Peter of Aragon, and promised him the investiture of Sicily. Nicholas died before the conspiracy came to a head. It is to this transaction between Nicholas and the Eastern Empire that Dante alludes here.

105. **reverence.** Even in the midst of this invective, Dante retains his respect for the papal office. Comp. Purg. xix, 132.

110. **the Evangelist.** St. John, assumed to be the author of the Book of Revelation.

114. **the ten horns.** The passage referred to is Rev. xvii, 1–3. Until we know just what the writer of the Apocalypse meant by that passage, it is somewhat hazardous to attempt an interpretation of his allegory as resolved into Dante's allegory. Two things are certain: 1. that Dante regards the passage as referring to Christian Rome under the Papacy. 2. That he varies the Biblical allegory, attributing the seven heads and ten horns to the woman instead of to the beast. Beyond this it behoves one to tread cautiously. In the Biblical allegory the seven heads and ten horns represent evil forces. In Dante they appear to represent powers possessed by the Church, which may vindicate themselves as honorable and beneficent so long as the Pope (the "spouse") shall administer them righteously. Whether or not the seven heads signify the seven sacraments or the seven virtues, and the ten horns the ten commandments, I do not venture to pronounce. It may be said generally that until the principles of Apocalyptic interpretation are settled, as they are far from being, one runs much risk in offering expositions of either John or Dante.

The word *argomento*, which I have rendered "warrant," is very variously translated—"mode of government," "proof," "witness." The general idea seems to be that the Church had a divine warrant

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for her authority, and a divinely ordained scheme of administration, which would vindicate itself so long as she should prove herself faithful to God.

119. **Ah, Constantine!** The reference is to what was known as "the Donation of Constantine." According to the legend, Constantine was cured of leprosy by the Roman Bishop Silvester, in 324 A.D.; in return for which he bestowed on the Popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West, declaring his intention to remove the seat of his sovereignty from Rome, and to establish a new imperial centre at Byzantium: "since, where the sovereign of priests and the head of the Christian religion has been placed by the Heavenly Emperor, it is not fitting that there the earthly Emperor should also bear sway." This stupendous fraud was first made public between A.D. 755 and 766, in the form of a forged imperial edict, produced in a letter of Pope Adrian I to Charlemagne. The document served later Popes as a pretext for wholesale appropriations of territory. The forgery was exposed by Laurentius Valla in the fifteenth century. This whole passage, ll. 110–121, was expunged, by order of the Spanish Inquisition, from copies of the Commedia introduced into Spanish territory. To these were added Inf. xi, 8–9, and Par. ix, 136–137.

A most interesting and detailed account of "the Donation of Constantine" may be found in Mr. Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders," Vol. VII, Chap. 7.

CANTO XX

3. **cantica.** I have retained the original word in the translation as there is no single English word precisely answering to it. It means the first division of the Commedia—the Inferno. "Canto" has been similarly appropriated in English.

8. **valley.** Strictly, a *great* valley.

10. **prayer-processions.** The original, *letane*, is our "litany"; properly a supplicatory prayer, but here used of processions of suppliants.

14. **the face was turned.** Benvenuto says: "Now here they are seen with their faces turned the wrong way; for they had wished to see far away in the distant future events which must be uncertain to man; wherefore, by the just judgment of God who alone knoweth the future, they can now only see behind them; and in truth we may often remark that in their own affairs these soothsayers are particularly shortsighted and unfortunate, and always retrograding; they are like the monkey, which, the more it advances, the more it displays its hinder-parts; and they are weeping, because they always end in the greatest poverty and wretchedness."

26. **I wept.** Here Dante is again moved with pity, for which he is presently rebuked by Vergil.

30. **here piety doth live, etc.** There is a play on the word *pietà*, which means both "piety" and "pity." Vergil says that for one to

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be truly *pious* all *pity* must be extinguished for those who are justly suffering the wrath of God. Vergil himself, however, is moved with compassion in Inf. iv, 19–20.

32. **passion brings to bear.** Who allows feeling to operate where God's judgments are concerned.

36. **Amphiaraus.** One of the seven kings who joined the expedition against Thebes. He warned his companions against the enterprise. Being a prophet, he foresaw that the issue would be fatal to himself. As he was about to be slain by a spear, Zeus interposed, and cleft open the earth with a thunderbolt, bidding it swallow up Amphiaraus and his charioteer. Dante took the story from Statius, Theb. close of vii and beginning of viii. The cry which Dante ascribes to the Thebans is put by Statius into the mouth of Pluto.

38. **Minos.** See Inf. v, 4 ff.

42. **Tiresias.** A renowned Theban soothsayer, and blind. He plays so prominent a part in the mythical history of Greece that there is scarcely any event with which he is not, in some way, connected. The story to which Dante alludes is found in Ovid, Metam. iii, 316 ff.

49. **Aruns.** An Etruscan soothsayer who foretold the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Dante follows Lucan in the description of his dwelling among the hills of Luni. Phars. i, 584–588.

Luni. An ancient Etruscan town, formerly Luna, on the river Macra. It possessed a large harbor, now the Gulf of Spezzia. It was celebrated for its white marble, now known as Carrara marble, from the name of the neighboring town. See the following lines.

56. **Manto.** By some oversight, Dante not only places Manto here, but in telling Statius in Purgatory who are with himself in Limbo, he mentions "the daughter of Tiresias." See Purg. xxii, 116.

58. **where I was born.** See note on Inf. i, 76. In Vergil's version here of the story of the founding of Mantua, he is inconsistent with his own account in the Aeneid. See Aen. x, 198–200:

> "Then he, e'en Ocnus, stirreth up folk from his father's shore,
> Who from the love of Tuscan flood, and fate-wise Manto came,
> And gave, O Mantua, walls to thee, and gave his mother's name."
> W. Morris's Translation.

In other words, Mantua was founded by Ocnus, son of the river Tiber and the prophetess Manto; and Ocnus called it after his mother's name. Dante would seem to desire to correct the Vergilian story. He makes Vergil say that Manto was unmarried, and that she herself selected the site of Mantua.

61. **Bacchus's City.** Thebes, of which Bacchus was the tutelar deity.

62. **up in fair Italy, etc.** The following beautiful description illustrates Dante's delight in physical geography. It portrays the basin of the Lago di Garda from north to south.

63. **alpine range.** The group of mountains between Val Camonica and the valley of the Adige extends, longitudinally, from the Lago di Garda to the right bank of the upper Adige, embracing the heights of Adamello, Tonale, and Ortles. Going northward, it

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terminates above the right bank of the Adige, on the other side of which, near Meran, was the castle of Tiralli, the seat of the Tyrolean counts, and the first German territory. "Tyrol" may refer to the country or to the Schloss Tirol.

65. **Benaco.** Benacus was the Roman name of Lago di Garda.

68. **Apennino.** See below.

69. **Val Camonica.** One of the largest valleys in Lombardy, lying to the west of Lago di Garda, and extending for over fifty miles from the chain of Tonale and the mountains south of Bormio, as far as the Lake of Iseo. The river Oglio flows through it into this lake. Very charming descriptions of this region may be found in Mr. Douglas Freshfield's "Italian Alps," 1875.

By *Apennino*, which is the best attested reading, Dante certainly cannot mean the Apennine range. It is probable that he wrote *Pennino*, which appears in two manuscripts. But what did he mean by Pennino? It is claimed that there is a mountain of that name on the upper course of the Toscolano, one of the most considerable tributaries of the Lake, but the only stream which Pennino sends into the Lake; whereas Dante says that Pennino is bathed through more than a thousand sources with the water which falls to rest in the Lake. Bassermann, who discusses the matter very minutely, holds that, instead of *Val Camonica* the reading should be *Val di Monica*, which has the support of only one manuscript, though an important one. Monica or Moniga is on the western side of the Lake, not far from its southern extremity. Although the name Val di Monica no longer exists, there is a valley behind Monica which runs to the bold headland of Manerba. South of that point, the Lake receives no tributaries worth mentioning. Thus Monica is well adapted to mark the point where the shore ceases to be a source-region. Bassermann further maintains that Dante means by Pennino the whole stretch of the mountains which engird the Lake from Garda on the eastern side to Monica on the western; so that his statement is simply: "The mountains from Garda round to Val di Monica engird the Lake, and feed it from countless sources." He urges that the geographer Ptolemy puts the Pennine Alps on the west, as well as on the east of the Lake. All this if we could be sure of the reading Val di Monica, which Mr. Butler says, arose from a misunderstanding as to the position of Val Camonica. But is it certain that Dante meant Val Camonica in any case? Mr. Butler also thinks that Dante took Pennino in a wide sense, as applying to any part of the Central Alps; and that the term Pennine Alps was very loosely used. So far, he is substantially in accord with Bassermann.

It seems to me (1) that little importance can be attached to the hypothesis of a single mountain named Apennino. (2) That the reading *Pennino* has very strong claims. (3) That Dante used *Pennino* (if he did write thus) in a wide and general sense. (4) That the reading *Val di Monica* is not sufficiently attested. If it could be trusted, it would go very far to solve the difficulty, and I should be inclined to accept Bassermann's solution entire. It seems pretty clear that Dante's general meaning is that the system

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of mountains encircling Lago di Garda is bathed with a multitude of streams which flow into the Lake.

70. **a place—midway.** Dante means the point where the three dioceses of Trent, Brescia, and Verona adjoin each other, so that the bishop of either diocese might lawfully exercise his functions there. Opinions differ as to the point. Evidence seems to favor the mouth of the river Tignalga near Campione on the western shore.

73. **Peschiera.** At the southeastern corner of the Lake, at the outflow of the river Mincio.

74. **Brescians, Bergamasques.** Peschiera is about twenty miles southeast of Brescia, and fifty miles southeast of Bergamo.

76. **all that cannot stay, etc.** All the water which cannot be contained in the Lake flows out and forms the Mincio. The name Mincio is retained as far as Governo, where the Mincio joins the Po. Governo is on the right bank of the Mincio, about twelve miles from Mantua. Dante now follows the course of the Mincio to Mantua.

84. **turns it to a marsh.** Mantua is surrounded with lakes and marshes, which add at once to its strength and to its insalubrity (see l. 85). The marshes have been partially drained by the French. "The approach to the town from the old station of S. Antonio is most picturesque. The long lines of grey buildings, broken here and there by a tall campanile, rise abruptly from the lagoons which surround it. The fishing vessels flap their red sails close beneath the windows of the houses. In the shallower parts of the marsh masses of reeds rustle and sigh in the wind, the very reeds described by Vergil as a characteristic feature of his native place:

> 'Here wanton Mincius winds along the meads,
> And shades his happy banks with bending reeds.'"
> HARE, "Cities of Northern and Central Italy."

86. **cruel virgin.** Vergil, in the Aeneid, says she was married and had two sons, Ocnus and Mopsus. Benvenuto suggests that she was unmarried when she first settled in the place, and was married afterward. As to the epithet "cruel," Statius, Theb., iv, 463, describes her as assisting her father in magic rites, tasting blood from bowls, etc. In that passage Statius describes her as unmarried, and some are inclined to interpret *cruda* in that sense.

100. **Casalodi.** The name of a Mantuan family, derived from a fortress in Brescia.

101. **Pinamonte.** Lord of Mantua, 1272–1291. Desiring to get the government of Mantua into his own hands, he took advantage of the hostility of the people to the Counts of Casalodi, and advised Alberto da Casalodi to expel many of the nobles. By this advice he confirmed the popular hatred of the Casalodi, and then turned upon Alberto and drove him from the city along with almost every family of note.

114. **Greece was so destitute of males.** At the time of the Trojan war.

115. **scarcely for the cradles they remained.** Hyperbole. The male population, old and young, flocked to Troy in such numbers that hardly any, even infants, remained.

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116. **Calchas.** The soothsayer whom the Greeks, on their departure for the Trojan war, appointed their priest and prophet. It was he who predicted that the Grecian fleet would not be able to sail until Agamemnon should have sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. It will be seen that Dante mixes two stories. In the Aeneid there is no mention of Eurypylus's being associated with Calchas in fixing the time for the sailing of the Grecian fleet; but they are associated in the incident of Iphigenia. Aen. ii, 122 ff.

118. **Eurypylus.** He was sent by the Greeks to consult the oracle of Apollo about their returning from Troy. He brought back the answer that, as they had purchased permission to sail from Greece with the blood of Iphigenia, so they must purchase their return with blood. See Aen. ii, 114–119.

123. **Michael Scott.** Best known through Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel." He was born at Balwearie in Fifeshire, about 1190. He appears at different times in Oxford, Pavia, Toledo, Germany. He was a student of Astrology, Alchymy, Physiology, and Chiromancy. He wrote a commentary on Aristotle, and several treatises on Natural Philosophy, and passed as a skilful magician. He died in Scotland about 1250.

124. **Guido Bonatti.** An astrologer and soothsayer of Forli. A tiler by trade. He is said to have written a work on Astrology. He acted as astrologer to Guido da Montefeltro (see Inf. xxvii), and it is said that by his aid Guido won his victory over the French papal forces at Forli, May 1, 1282.

125. **Asdente.** "Toothless." A shoemaker of Parma, renowned as a soothsayer and prophet in the latter half of the thirteenth century. He is mentioned in the Convito, iv, 16, 5.

130. **effigy.** An effigy of the person on whom the sorcerer's charms are practised. See Vergil's 8th Eclogue. The idea is powerfully worked out in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's weird poem, "Sister Helen." It may also be found in Southey's "Thalaba," ix, 24–27.

133. **Cain and the thorns.** Here is one of Dante's technical and rather pedantic descriptions of astronomical phenomena, which will be more fully discussed in the notes on the Purgatorio. What he means is, in brief, that the moon is setting in the world above. The moon is described as "Cain and the Thorns," which term applies strictly to the spots on the moon or to what is still called "the man in the moon," according to the popular belief that this was Cain with a bundle of thorns, possibly with reference to his unacceptable offering to God. See Par. ii, 49–51. The moon occupies the borders of both the hemispheres; that is, of the northern and southern hemispheres—the hemisphere of Jerusalem and the hemisphere of Purgatory. See Introduction under "Dante's Cosmogony." The moon, then, is on the horizon line, and is setting, or touching the wave below, i. e. on the farther side of Seville, or the West. The extreme western limit of the world was, to Dante, the Pillars of Hercules; and this he expresses by Spain, Gades, Morocco, or Seville.

135. **yesternight.** The night before the last, it being now about 6 A.M. The night between Holy Thursday and Good Friday.

137. **no harm she did thee.** But rather aided thee with her light.

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at a certain time. On another occasion which Vergil does not mention—the time when he was in the gloomy wood.

CANTO XXI

3. **held the summit.** Occupying the middle and highest point of the bridge over the fifth trench, from which they looked directly down into the trench.

7. **in the Arsenal.** One of Dante's most famous similes. Readers of Aristophanes will be reminded of the passage in "the Acharnians," 552 ff. "And the dock-yard again had been filled with spars getting cut into oars, wooden pins sounding, bottom-oars getting furnished with thongs, boatswains' flutes, fifes, whistlings."

In this trench are punished Barrators. Barratry is malversation of a public office or trust; traffic in public offices; generally, the selling of justice, office, or employment.

17. **a thick pitch.** The significance of the punishment is thus explained by Benvenuto: "First, because pitch is dark and black, and barratry blackens with infamy; secondly, because pitch is tenacious, viscous, and sticky; and so is barratry, which is founded upon avarice, and whosoever is once infected with it is never again able to get quit of it; thirdly, because pitch defiles all who touch it, as Solomon has said; and in like manner this barratry is so contagious, that if a very saint were to enter a court or hold offices about a court, he would become a barrator. . . . fourthly, because all that is below the surface of the pitch is unseen; and in like manner barratry plies its craft occultly and secretly." He goes on to draw a very minute and ingenious analogy between the arsenal and a court of princes or Popes. Gabriel Rossetti (quoted by Dr. Moore) suggests that this whole episode of the barrators was a parody of a disaster which occurred at Florence on May 1, 1303, on the occasion of a singular entertainment in honor of the Cardinal da Prato who was sent to Florence as a peacemaker by Benedict XI. There was a representation of the Inferno with demons and tortured spirits, and among the forms of torture were caldrons of boiling water and pitch. The crowded Ponte alla Carraia gave way, and many fell into the water and were drowned. The entertainment is described by Villani, Cron. viii, 70.

20, 21. **swelled up and settled down.** Comp. Vergil, Geor. ii, 479–480.

34, 35. **with his haunches both encumbered.** The sinner was astride of the demon's shoulders, and the fiend was holding him by the feet. Others represent the fiend as holding the wretch's feet over his shoulders, while the body hangs down his back. Mr. Vernon notes that in Michel Angelo's "Last Judgment," in the Sistine Chapel, one of the sinners is represented as being carried by a demon in something like the former posture.

36. **Malebranche.** "Evil Claws." A collective name for the fiends.

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37. **elders.** The Elders or Ancients were the principal magistrates of Lucca, answering to the Priors in the Florentine Republic.

Saint Zita. The patron saint of Lucca. She was of humble origin, and her sanctity was in high repute. She was the patroness of servants.

38. **from off our bridge.** The demon spoke from the bridge on which Vergil and Dante were standing.

42. **except Bonturo.** Ironical. Bonturo was a notorious barrator. He was the head of the popular party in Lucca at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He controlled nearly all the offices in the city. He was finally expelled by the Lucchese for his agency in a war with Pisa, in which they were worsted.

47. **doubled up.** With his back arched above the surface, his head and legs remaining beneath the pitch.

50. **the holy countenance.** The culprit's posture on emerging from the pitch suggests to the demons the attitude of worship. Hence the following jeer. The Santo Volto, or holy countenance, was a wooden image of Christ held in great veneration by the Lucchese. The legend runs that, after the death and ascension of Jesus, Nicodemus desired to carve a figure of the Crucified. Having finished the cross and the bust, and while he was endeavoring to recall the features of the face, he fell asleep, and on waking found the head completed by celestial hands.

52. **the Serchio.** The river, a few miles north of Lucca, turns to the southwest, and flows past the city into the Mediterranean, not far from Viareggio. It was a favorite bathing-place.

66. **once before.** See Inf. ix, 22–27.

69. **the sixth bank.** At the end of the bridge, and on the embankment between the fifth and sixth trenches.

79. **Malacoda.** The leader of the troop of demons.

81. **how does it help him?** The demon was muttering to himself: "What good will it do him to talk with me? We will have our hooks upon him shortly."

91, 92. **thou who—art sitting.** Addressing Dante. See ll. 62–63.

98. **Caprona.** A castle in the Pisan territory, about five miles from the city of Pisa. Dante refers here to its capture by the Tuscan Guelfs with the Lucchese and Florentines; and implies that the garrison capitulated and marched out under safe-conduct.

108. **Scarmiglione.** Meaning "the tumbler" or "ruffler." It is said that there were at Siena certain soldiers armed with long spears with hooks at the head, with which they laid hold of robbers, and that they were called Scarmiglioni.

110. **it is not possible, etc.** He means that the poets cannot cross the sixth trench by the bridge which is in a direct line with the one they have just crossed, because it is broken. They are therefore to follow the embankment to the left, along the edge of the sixth Bolgia, until they come to the next rock-bridge.

115. **yesterday, etc.** Malacoda accounts for the destruction of the bridge by the earthquake which occurred at the Crucifixion. He is thus precise, possibly, to inspire Vergil with confidence in his statement. Dante introduces this in order to fix accurately the

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year, day, and hour of this part of his journey. He says (Conv. iv, 23, 6) that our Saviour chose to die when he was thirty-four years old. Adding 34 to 1266 would give 1300, the year commonly assigned to the vision. He further says that it is five hours earlier than the hour of our Lord's death, which took place on the previous day, 1266 years ago. Dante held that Christ died at midday (Conv. iv, 23, 6), the sixth hour according to St. Luke; so that, deducting five hours from twelve, we have for the present time 7 A. M., Easter Eve, 1300. The passage is important as fixing a point from which other time-computations in the poem can be made.

120. **is airing.** A very graphic word in the original. It means to hang out linen to dry or air. So the wretches in the pitch are said to come to the surface in order to air themselves.

122. **Alichino, etc.** Various translations and explanations of these names are offered; but few of the names have an obvious meaning. Malebranche, "evil claws," and Malacoda, "evil tail," are plain; but it is better to let the rest stand undefined. Philalethes's attempt in his excellent German version is truly heroic, and his ingenuity is worthy of a better cause. A plausible account of this list of names is offered by Rossetti, who is followed by Dr. Moore. It is that they are caricatures of the names of certain political officials in Florence who were Dante's bitterest enemies. Dr. Moore's remarks in the second series of his "Dante Studies," p. 232 ff, should by all means be read.

130. **the dens.** Notice the variety of terms by which Dante describes the trenches of Malebolge: valley, great valley, ditch, cleft, tomb, throat.

140. **stews.** The sinners in the pitch. The original word, *lesso*, is used principally in Tuscany instead of *bollito*, "a boil" (as we say "a roast"), which is common in other parts of Italy. It is the *boulli*.

This canto and the next are marked by a vein of comicality which is very rare in Dante. He is often enough grotesque, and gives abundant evidence of a grim, sardonic humor, little adapted to provoke laughter. Here, however, there is an element of broad farce. None the less it is farce which heightens the bestial horror of the whole scene. Some one has suggested that it was introduced in order to relieve the strain on the reader's feelings! That must be a remarkable reader who would say on reading these cantos:

"For this relief much thanks."

142. **with his teeth his tongue had pressed.** The gross obscenity of the last three lines requires no comment. Only it is to be kept in mind that Dante was possessed with the thought that sin tends to bestiality; that he is under all circumstances a plain speaker; and that he intentionally infused into this scene as much of the bestial element as he could.

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CANTO XXII

4. **Aretines.** After the expulsion of the Guelfs from Arezzo in 1287, there were constant hostilities between that city and Florence, and encounters of skirmishing-parties were frequent. Some think that the reference is to the battle of Campaldino in 1289, between the Florentine Guelfs and the Ghibellines of Arezzo. Some of Dante's later biographers claim that he was present at that battle.

7. **bells.** The Florentine army was accompanied to the field by a great bell called Martinella, which for thirty days before the commencement of hostilities tolled continually from the arch of Porta Santa Maria as a public declaration of war. On taking the field the bell was removed to a wooden tower which was placed on a car. Along with this went the Carroccio on which the standard of the commonwealth was placed. It was a four-wheeled, oblong car, painted red, and drawn by two, four, or six bullocks covered with red or white. The ensign hung from two red masts. The Carroccio was devised by the Milanese Archbishop Heribert, and was soon adopted by the cities throughout Italy.

8. **castle-signals.** Fire-beacons and similar signals. See Inf. viii, 4–6.

14. **with the saints at church, etc.** The proverb signifies: adapt yourself to your company. "At Rome, do as do the Romans."

18. **arching of their back.** The appearance of the backs of the dolphins above water was popularly supposed to presage a storm. The creature arches its back in order to leap forward through the water, as may be seen in porpoises.

35. **I—knew the name.** Explaining his familiar use of the name Graffiacane.

50. **Theobald.** Thibaut, or Theobald II, who became King of Navarre in 1244. He is quoted by Dante in De Vulg. El. i, 9; ii, 5, 6. His fame rests on his amatory poems.

59. **while I am hugging him.** Not "while I fork him." This was what the fiend was aiming to prevent for the present, until another should tear him (l. 63). Rather, "Keep off as long as I am holding him." There is a touch of grim irony: "while I hold him in my embrace."

66. **Italian.** By *Latino*, Dante always means Italian.

68. **a neighbor.** Lived in the neighboring country of Sardinia. See l. 82.

75. **their decurion.** In the Roman army a decurion was the commander of a troop of ten cavalrymen. At a later period the name was given to the Senators of the colonies and free-towns. The dignified title is ironically applied to the leader of the troop of devils.

78. **gazing at his wound.** He stood looking at his wound like one dazed.

81. **Friar Gomita.** A Sardinian friar, appointed chancellor or deputy of Nino Visconti, the judge of Gallura. Gallura was one of

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the four judicial districts of Sardinia, which, in Dante's time, belonged to the Pisans. He abused his position by traffic in public offices.

83. **had in hand his master's enemies.** Having charge of certain imprisoned enemies of his master, he took bribes from them and allowed them to escape, so that they commended him (l. 84–85).

89. **Michel Zanche.** Governor of Logodoro in Sardinia. He is mentioned again in Inf. xxxiii, 149, as the father-in-law of Branca d'Oria, whom he murdered.

95, 96. **to my itch to give a scratching.** A coarse proverbial expression.

grand commandant. Another dignified title ironically used. Provost, Rector, President.

112, 113. **I am too cunning, etc.** The fiend Cagnazzo had said: "Only hear the cunning knavery (*malizia*) which he has designed, to escape us by plunging into the lake." Ciampolo replies with a play on the word *malizia*, which may mean either *malice*, or *cunning*. "I shall be too cunning (*malizioso*) if I procure for my companions greater suffering than they are now enduring."

115. **held in.** He did not restrain himself, since he was so eager to see the other wretches allured from the lake.

116, 117. **I will not—follow thee.** The demon means: "You cannot escape, because you have not wings. Therefore if you drop, I will not follow you on foot, but will rise on the wing over the pitch, and so I shall be sure to catch you."

118. **leave we the ridge.** The fiends propose to put themselves where they will not be seen by those who answer Ciampolo's summons. They were then standing on the embankment between the fifth and sixth trenches, where the bridge over the fifth trench came to an end. The top of the embankment falls off on either side. The fiends propose to remove from the top and to go down a little way on the side toward the sixth trench, where they will be entirely concealed from the people in the pitch.

122. **turned toward the other side.** Each of the demons looked away from the edge of the fifth trench, and turned to go down the slope of the ridge toward the sixth trench. Ciampolo took this opportunity to jump.

128. **chiefly he.** Alichino, who had made the proposition to go down from the ridge.

132. **upward.** Going toward the crest of the embankment.

138. **the other.** Ciampolo.

146. **the heat unclutched.** The heat of the boiling pitch made them relax their clutch. Lit., "the heat was a sudden separator."

149. **doleful.** There is a comical pathos in the word.

154. **the crusting.** The meaning is somewhat uncertain. It is usually explained as the surface of the pitch. According to others it is the skin of the demons, which the heat penetrated. The most probable explanation is the crust which the pitch formed over their bodies.

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CANTO XXIII

3. **were going on.** They were going to the left, along the ridge of the embankment between the fifth and sixth trenches.

Minor Friars. Franciscans, also called Cordeliers. See note on Inf. xvi, 106, and comp. Inf. xxvii, 70, 96–97; Par. xi, 86–87, 94; xii, 115, 131–132. The name "minor," intended as a token of humility, was adopted in 1210. Up to this time the order had, properly, no name, but was styled "Penitents of the City of Assisi."

5. **Aesop's fable.** The fable is that a mouse and a frog met at a river which they had to cross. As the mouse could not swim, the frog proposed to convey her across by tying her to his leg. During their passage the frog tried to drown the mouse; but just then a kite swooped down and carried off the frog, setting the mouse at liberty. Dante's application of the fable is that one who was conspiring against another (Alichino against Ciampolo) brought disaster upon himself. Aesop, who lived about B.C. 600, was the first author who created an independent class of stories about animals, so that, in a few generations, his name and person had become typical of that entire class of literature, and the story of his own life was enveloped in a tissue of tales and traditions which, in the Middle Ages, were woven into a kind of romance. It is doubtful whether he left any written works. This fable is not found in any collection of "Aesop's Fables," all of which were made at least three centuries after his time. All that have come down to us are, in part, late prose renderings of the version of Babrius, made a little before the beginning of the Christian era. Dante may have seen this fable in a Life of Aesop prefixed to a collection made by Planudes, a Greek monk of the fourteenth century, or in a collection of extracts. Many such collections were current in the Middle Ages; and Benvenuto da Imola, who lectured on the Commedia at Bologna in 1375, says that this fable was contained in a Latin version of extracts from Aesop.

7. **for "now" resembles not "this instant" more.** *Mo* and *issa* both mean "now." The amount of this somewhat prolix passage is that Dante, in pondering Aesop's fable, felt that the case of the frog and that of Alichino were so similar, that the worst results to Vergil and himself might be expected from the baffled demons.

27. **were I of leaded glass.** If I were a mirror, I should not more readily receive the impression of your bodily person than I catch your thought which tallies with my own.

32. **of both one sole resolve.** Out of our two corresponding thoughts I formed one purpose—to flee.

33. **on our right.** As they were moving toward the left, the descent into the sixth Bolgia would be on their right.

46. **he gave him to the sloping rock.** Vergil, clasping Dante in his arms, slid down the slope on his back.

48, 49. **wheel of a land-mill.** An overshot wheel, to which the water is brought by a sloping sluice. In a river-mill the water flows underneath.

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49. **when it draws near the paddles.** An instance of Dante's minute observation. How many would have noted the quickened motion of the water as it approaches the paddles?

63. **Cologne.** It was said that the hoods of the monks of Cologne were peculiarly ungainly, being so fashioned by the Pope's order as a punishment for their petitioning for leave to wear scarlet cowls.

65. **so gilded.** The significance of the punishment is evident. It is also claimed that the gilded cloaks were suggested to Dante by the false etymology of the word "hypocrite," which was current in his time; viz., *hyper*, "above," and *crisis* for the Greek *chrusos*, "gold."

67. **Frederick.** Frederick II, who is said to have devised this punishment for traitors. The tradition is that he had them wrapped in lead, and thrown into a heated caldron. The same punishment is said to have been inflicted in Scotland, and Longfellow quotes from the ballad of "Lord Soulis":

> "They rolled him up in a sheet of lead,
> A sheet of lead for a funeral pall,
> And plunged him into the caldron red,
> And melted him—lead, and bones, and all."

72, 73. **our company was new.** The poets moved so much faster than the train of hypocrites, that at every step they were abreast of new persons.

91. **this one seems living.** Comp. Purg. ii, 69.

103. **glitters.** What is the nature of the punishment which appears in your sparkling cloak?

105, 106. **cause the scales to creak.** The cloaks cause their wearers to show these signs of distress, as the weights make the scales creak.

Jolly Friars. The name given to the knights of a military and conventual order called "the Order of the Soldiery of the Blessed Mary," founded in 1261 by certain Bolognese. Their object was to reconcile hostile factions and family feuds in the different cities of Italy, and to protect the weak against their oppressors. They received the name of "Jolly Friars" because of the laxity of their rules, which allowed them to marry and to live in their own homes. Villani says: "They wore a white gown and a grey mantle, and for arms a white field with a red cross and two stars. . . . But it (the order) endured but a short while, for the fact followed the name, to wit, they gave themselves more to joviality than to aught else." Cron. vii, 13.

107, 108. **Catalano, Loderingo.** They were the founders of the order. Catalano was a Guelf, Loderingo a Ghibelline. They shared the office of Podestà in Bologna in 1265 and 1267, and in 1266 in Florence. They were accused of taking bribes from the Guelfs, and persecuting the Ghibellines. Villani says: "Albeit in heart they were of diverse parties, under cover of false hypocrisy, they were at one, more for their own gain than for the public weal." Cron. vii, 13.

112. **the Gardingo.** The name of a part of Florence in the neigh-

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borhood of the Palazzo Vecchio, where the palace of the Uberti, the heads of the Ghibelline party in Florence, stood. This palace was wrecked during a rising of the Ghibellines while Catalano and Loderingo were Podestàs.

119. **that transfixed one.** Caiaphas. See John xi, 50. The High Priest was supposed to give inspired decisions on doubtful questions. This Caiaphas professed to do in the case of Jesus; but he spoke from political motives, not proclaiming a divine oracle, but expressing his own conviction as an unscrupulous Sadducee, on the basis of a rule of statesmanship, that the one must be sacrificed for the many.

126. **his father-in-law.** Annas. See John xviii, 13, 24.

129, 130. **Vergil—marvelling.** Vergil was of course ignorant of the Gospel history. There is no little force in the suggestion that the words in ll. 121–122 reminded Vergil of his own words in Aen. v, 815:

"One head shall pay for all the rest."

Comp. John xi, 49–52, where Caiaphas is declared to have uttered unconsciously a truthful prophecy. The significance of his being stretched upon a cross is apparent.

136, 137. **making-come.** In virtue of his divine commission to pass through Hell, Vergil could command, if necessary, the aid of evil spirits.

140. **the great circle.** The wall encircling the whole of Malebolge.

144, 145. **upon the side it slopes.** He means that the fragments of the broken bridge form a slope at the side, and then heap themselves up at the bottom.

149. **Bologna.** The speaker's native place, and the seat of an important theological school.

CANTO XXIV

1. **In that part of the youthful year, etc.** The following long and elaborate simile is intended simply to point the fact that Dante, having been alarmed by the angry expression of Vergil's face, is reassured by the kindly and affectionate look which Vergil bestows on him. The part of the year is the latter part of January and the beginning of February. The sun, having begun to turn northward after the winter solstice at the first point of Capricorn, is now in Aquarius. Correspondingly, the night (used by Dante for the point of the heavens opposite to the sun) has turned southward from the first point of Cancer.

2. **invigorates his locks.** Warms his rays.

4. **Toward the south.** The nights shorten and retreat southward as the days lengthen and the sun moves northward.

copies the image. The hoar-frost has the appearance of its "white sister," the snow.

6, 7. **not for long the temper of her pen endures.** The hard, frosty appearance does not last long. The hoar-frost quickly melts with the sun.

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10. **goes whining.** We must remember that Dante is not picturing a stolid northern peasant, but an impressionable Italian, who gives free and violent expression to his emotions, and changes quickly from despair to exhilaration.

18. **the plaster.** One of Dante's realistic metaphors. His relief at Vergil's cheerful look is the wholesome effect of a plaster applied to a wound.

20. **at the mountain's foot.** See Inf. i, 14.

22. **had fixed upon some plan.** Vergil first inspects the ruin of the shattered bridge, in order to make sure that he has not been deceived by Catalano as he had been by Malacoda. Then he considers the best way of climbing the side of the trench on the broken stones. Finally he takes hold of Dante to push and lift him upward.

25, 26. **seems to be providing in advance.** Vergil is compared to an experienced mountaineer, who, while securing a footing at any point, keeps looking out for a point above, where he can get a foothold.

31. **for one who wore a cloak.** Like the hypocrites.

32. **hardly could we mount.** Ruskin ("Modern Painters," III, ch. 15) insists that "Dante, by many expressions throughout the poem, shows himself to have been a notably bad climber; and being fond of sitting in the sun, looking at his fair Baptistery, or walking in a dignified manner on a flat pavement in a long robe, it puts him seriously out of his way when he has to take to his hands and knees, or look to his feet; so that the first strong impression made upon him by any Alpine scene whatever, is, clearly, that it is bad walking. When he is in a fright and hurry, and has a very steep place to go down, Vergil has to carry him altogether, and is obliged to encourage him again and again when they have a steep slope to go up."

This statement is at once superficial and untruthful. In the first place, it is quite unwarrantable, and it is a mere play of fancy to attempt to draw any such general and sweeping conclusion from Dante's occasional allusions. In the second place the allusions themselves rather contradict than warrant the conclusion. Dante may have been fond of sitting in the sun, but Dante was an extensive traveller in Italy and had a large experience in mountain-travel. An allusion to the difficulties of an ascent or descent does not show that he was a poor climber any more than Mr. Whymper's graphic picture of the tremendous difficulties of the Matterhorn, or Mr. Freshfield's blood-curdling account of his passage along the face of the Pelmo, show that these gentlemen were poor climbers or disliked climbing. That Dante now and then accentuates the steepness or roughness of a declivity is to be expected from one who was confronting savage hell-heights, not made to be scaled by mortal feet. If Dante requires the help of Vergil, the best modern Alpine tourist cannot dispense with the rope and the guide. If Dante was a poor climber, this passage shows that he knew how climbing ought to be done. That the first strong impression made upon him by any Alpine scene is that it is bad walking, is nonsense, and is contradicted by more than one passage of the poem. On this point Ruskin is vigorously handled by Douglas W. Freshfield in an article on "The

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Mountains of Dante," in the Alpine Journal, February, 1882, Vol. X.*

39. **all Malebolge downward slopes.** The successive trenches lie one below the other. The whole area of Malebolge slopes toward the central pit, like the area of an amphitheatre toward the orchestra. The bottom of each pit, however, is horizontal, and lies at a right angle to the wall which encompasses the whole series of pits. Of course, in each trench, the side which is toward the central pit is lower than the side toward the encircling wall.

43. **whence the last stone splits off.** They had mounted to the point where the last stone of the broken bridge had split off, and were therefore at the top of the embankment between the seventh and eighth trenches. Here Dante, exhausted, sits down for a brief rest, after which they move on to the left to the next bridge, which is unbroken, and which spans the seventh trench.

56. **a longer stairway.** The ascent to Purgatory. It is not enough to have parted with the souls in Hell.

63. **the crag.** The unbroken bridge which they had now reached, leading across the seventh trench.

69. **the next trench.** The seventh trench, into which they are now looking down.

75. **to the next belt.** Dante's request to Vergil is to pass over the bridge to where it abuts on the embankment which divides the seventh from the eighth trench (l. 83), and then to descend with him to a point where he can see better.

88. **Libya.** The Roman Province of North Africa, lying west of Egypt, and used here for Africa in general.

89. **chelydri, etc.** Dante takes this list of serpents from Lucan, Phars. ix, 700 ff., although Lucan names many others.

91. **Ethiopia.** The district of Africa south of Egypt.

92. **on the Red Sea.** The eastern coast of Egypt. In Par. vi, 79, it is called "the red shore."

96. **hiding-hole or heliotrope.** A hole in which to hide themselves, or the stone called heliotrope, which was supposed to render the writer invisible.

109. **Phoenix.** A fabulous Arabian bird, which, on attaining its five-hundredth year, burned itself to ashes on a pyre of incense, and rose from the ashes in the shape of a small worm, which, on the third day, developed into a full-grown bird. Dante says that the story is told "by many sages." He himself drew it from Ovid, Metam. xv, 392–400, although he does not reproduce all of Ovid's details. The story originated with Herodotus, II, 73, having been told to him by the Egyptian priests, who, he implies, were lying. Pliny says that it was asserted that the bird had been actually exhibited in Rome in A.D. 47. Tacitus declares that no doubt was entertained of its existence. Tertullian interprets Ps. xcii, 12, "The righteous shall flourish like the phoenix;" *phoenix* being the Greek word for palm-

* My thanks are due to Dr. James Canfield, the accomplished Librarian of Columbia University, N. Y., for procuring for me this volume of the Alpine Journal from the Boston Public Library. No library in New York contains a set of this periodical.

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tree. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, cites the story as a fact. Before the Christian era the tale had been adopted by Jewish writers. In a poem on the Exodus, written by Ezekiel, an Alexandrian Jew, in the second or third century, the phoenix is represented as appearing to the host of the Israelites. Those who are curious about the matter can consult Bishop Lightfoot's "St. Clement of Rome," Vol. II, p. 84.

113. **amomum.** Not "tears of incense and *of* amomum." Amomum was an aromatic shrub, bearing a fruit like a grape, from which a fragrant ointment was prepared. The best was said to be produced in Armenia. The Roman poets used the word for any specially delicious odor. Vergil mentions it in Ecl. iii, 89; iv, 25.

115. **by demon-power.** See Luke ix, 42.

125. **I fell.** Lit., "rained." Comp. Inf. viii, 85; xxx, 98. An expressive term for the falling of a soul down to Hell.

127. **mule.** Meaning "bastard."

128. **Vanni Fucci.** A natural son of one of the Lazzari, a noble family of Pistoia. In 1293 he broke into and plundered the treasury of San Jacopo in the Church of San Zeno at Pistoia. A namesake of his with whom he had deposited the booty was hanged for the crime, Vanni having revealed his name in order to save the life of another man who was about to be executed for the theft.

138. **afflicts me more.** His pain arose from his mortification at being seen by a political opponent, and from the satisfaction which his punishment would cause him.

142. **the Sacristy of the Fair Ornaments.** This is the name of the Sanctuary. The rendering is not: "I robbed the sanctuary of its fair ornaments."

148. **Pistoia first of Neri strips herself.** This alludes to the transactions which led up to Dante's exile. The Whites, who were all-powerful in Florence, procured, in 1301, the expulsion of the Blacks from Pistoia. "Pistoia first is thinned of Neri." On April 13th, 1301, Dante voted in the Council of the Consuls of the Arts. On June 19th he opposed, in the Council of the Hundred, the grant of a subsidy to the King of Naples for the war in Sicily and the service of a hundred soldiers for Pope Boniface VIII. Charles of Valois was already on his way to Florence, and Dante was specially marked out at Rome for destruction. Charles entered Florence with twelve hundred horsemen on November 1st. Dante was soon after indicted, and accused of barratry, fraud, and corrupt practices, unlawful gains and extortions and the like; of having resisted the Pope and Charles, and of having opposed the pacific state of Florence and of the Guelf party; of having caused the expulsion of the Blacks from Pistoia, and severed that city from Florence and the Church. The white Guelfs were driven from Florence by Charles, and thus Florence "changed her families and her fashions," that is, her government, which now passed into the hands of the Blacks.

150. **Mars draws—a mist.** The vapor or mist which Mars draws from Val di Magra is Moroello Malaspina, a Guelf, and Captain of the Florentine Blacks, when, in company with the forces of Lucca,

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they attacked Pistoia in 1302. Val di Magra is the valley of the river Macra which flows through Lunigiana in the northwestern corner of Tuscany; a territory belonging, in Dante's time, to the Malaspina family.

153. **Piceno's plain.** It seems quite impossible to identify this point. Dante places it somewhere in the vicinity of Pistoia; but there is no trace of any Campo Piceno in that neighborhood. The Picenian Field ("Ager Picenus") referred to by Sallust and Cicero in connection with the movements against Catiline, was on the Adriatic coast, a good way from Pistoia. Villani, in relating the story of Catiline's rout, says that Catiline came from Fiesole to the place where to-day is the city of Pistoia in the place called Campo Piceno, that was below where to-day is the fortress of Piteccio, and that here he was forced to give battle (Cron. i, 32). Villani, on the other hand, does not mention Campo Piceno as the scene of a battle between the Whites and the Blacks. It is possible that Villani has misunderstood Sallust. It may be that Dante means to denote by Campo Piceno simply the territory of the city of Pistoia itself, which, in the absence of certainty, seems on the whole most probable. One of the best discussions of the subject is by Bassermann, "Dante's Spuren in Italien."

154. **it shall disperse the cloud.** The metaphor is very bold. The mist shall rend the cloud. Out of the cloud of war shall break Malaspina in his charge upon his foes.

The whole prophecy, succinctly stated, is as follows: The Blacks shall be expelled from Pistoia. The Whites shall be driven from Florence, and a change shall come over its people and government. Malaspina with the Florentine Blacks shall come from his territory on the Macra and attack Pistoia. There shall be a battle on the Picenian plain, and Malaspina's headlong charge shall be fatal to the Whites of Pistoia.

156. **thou mayst have cause to grieve.** Because Dante belonged to the Whites.

CANTO XXV

2. **the figs.** The gesture consists in thrusting the thumb between the first and middle fingers. Ruskin says that in old English illuminated Psalters, the vignette of the fool saying in his heart "there is no God," nearly always represents him in this action.

3, 4. **friends—the serpents were.** Because they inflicted such fearful punishment upon the blasphemer.

10. **to turn thyself to ashes, etc.** Since you produce such a wretch as Vanni Fucci, thus surpassing the evil seed from which you sprang—the company of Catiline who headed a conspiracy against Rome, for which he was banished. It was believed that Pistoia was founded by the remnant of Catiline's force. Villani says that the place received its name from its unhealthful character: "by reason of the great mortality and pestilence which was near that place." Like Brunetto Latini who says, "Pestoire," he evi-

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dently connects the name with *pestis*, "plague." As a fact its origin is involved in darkness.

15, 16. **from the walls at Thebes fell down.** Capaneus. See Inf. xiv, 66.

17. **a Centaur.** See note on Inf. xii, 58.

20. **Maremma.** See note on Inf. xiii, 9.

26. **Cacus.** Dante errs in calling him a Centaur, and repeats the mistake in l., 28. The description is suggested by Aen. viii, 193 ff.

28. **his brethren walk.** See Inf. xii, 58.

29. **the theft.** He stole from Hercules, while asleep, some of the cattle which the latter had taken from Geryon (see note on Inf. xvii, i); and to prevent their being tracked, dragged them into his cave by their tails. Their bellowing revealed their place of concealment, and Hercules attacked Cacus and killed him.

32. **beneath the club.** According to Vergil, Hercules strangled him.

36. **under us.** The poets were on the side of the embankment, below the bridge. See Inf. xxiv, 76–77.

37. **three spirits.** Three Florentine thieves: Agnello Brunelleschi, Buoso degli Abati, and Puccio Sciancato.

44. **Cianfa.** One of the Donati family, and a housebreaker. From hearing his name Dante recognized the group as Florentines.

52. **a serpent, etc.** Nothing more horrible was ever conceived than the successive stages of the following transformation; and no conception was ever worked out with more masterly skill.

59. **ivy knit.** No better simile could be devised to portray the closeness with which the serpent's body attached itself to the man. Comp. Ovid, Metam. iv, 365.

66. **over the paper creeps.** Another simple, but wonderfully graphic simile, to express the blending of colors as the man and the reptile melted together, each losing his own native color, and taking on an intermediate one.

73. **four strips.** Strips of flesh. The fore-feet of the serpent and the arms of Agnello shaped themselves into two arms.

87. **in one of them.** Buoso degli Abati. Nothing is known of him. See note on Buoso Donati, Inf. xxx, 43. This is the third mode of punishment by the serpents. Vanni Fucci is burned to ashes by a serpent's bite, and is then restored to his proper shape (Inf. xxiv, 99–102). Agnello's form is blended with that of a serpent (ll., 52–78). In the third case, that of Buoso, the man and the serpent exchange forms.

88. **is drawn our nourishment.** The navel.

98. **Sabellus and Nasidius.** Two Roman soldiers belonging to Cato's army in Africa (see note on Inf. xiv, 14) who were stung, according to Lucan, by venomous serpents. Sabellus's body became a mass of corruption. The body of Nasidius swelled till his corslet burst and he died. Phars. ix, 763–797.

100. **Cadmus.** The founder of Thebes. He married Harmonia, the daughter of Mars and Venus. For slaying a dragon sacred to Mars, he was changed into a serpent, and Harmonia, by her own request, shared his fate. Dante here refers to the story as related by Ovid, Metam. iv, 575 ff., and draws from it some of his details.

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101. **Arethusa.** A nymph of the fountain of Arethusa in the island of Ortygia near Syracuse. While bathing she was seen and pursued by the river-god Alpheus. Artemis heard her prayer and changed her into a fountain; but Alpheus continued to pursue her under the sea, and attempted to mingle his stream with the waters of the fountain. The story is told by Ovid, Metam. v, 586 ff., and is the subject of Shelley's familiar and beautiful poem, "Arethusa."

I grudge it not. Dante claims that he relates something more wonderful than Ovid, because, in the transformations described by Ovid, the spirit of the living man assumes the substance of an animal, a fountain, etc. In Dante, on the other hand, two natures are exchanged—a man's with a serpent's, and vice versa. The word "form" as used by Dante does not mean the outward contour and appearance of bodies, but the essential quality—that which makes anything what it is. The *materia*, "matter" is the body with which this is invested.

108. **the snake split its tail.** The serpent taking the form of a man cleft his tail into two legs.

110. **the legs and thighs.** The thighs, and with them the legs, drew together, and the division between them disappeared, and no mark of the union remained.

113. **the cleft tail.** The forked tail of the serpent took the form of the legs which had disappeared in the man (l. 112).

114. **its skin grew soft.** The serpent's skin became soft like a man's, and the man's became hard like the scaly skin of the serpent.

116. **the arms draw in.** In the man the arms drew up into the armpits, and did not entirely disappear (see "shortened," l. 117), but enough remained to form the serpent's fore-feet.

117. **lengthen.** To the size of the human foot.

118. **the hind feet.** The hinder-feet of the serpent were twisted together, and formed the membrum virile.

120. **had two of them.** The wretched man put forth two feet like the serpent's.

121. **with new color.** The smoke imparted to each a new color: to the man that of the serpent, and to the serpent that of the man.

123. **the hair.** Causes hair to grow on the serpent's body, and removes the hair from the body of the man.

124. **upraised himself.** The serpent rises and stands upright like a man; the man falls down and grovels on his belly like a serpent.

125, 126. **not—their eyes withdrawing.** The two kept looking fixedly at each other while the transformation was in progress.

127. **muzzle.** The contemptuous term "snout" or "muzzle" is applied to the man as well as to the serpent.

Lines 127–138 describe the exchange of faces. The one that was erect (the serpent now standing on human feet) drew his muzzle toward the temples—inward and upward—and of the "excess of matter" which thus accumulated about the temples came forth ears from the "smooth" or "flat cheeks." The matter which was more than enough to form the ears, and which therefore "did not run backward," made "of that surplus" a nose, and thickened the lips "so much as was fitting," that is, to the proper dimensions of

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the human lips. The man, now lying prone, "shoots forward his muzzle" into the semblance of the serpent's, and "draws back his ears into his head"; and the human tongue, formerly of one piece, is cloven, while the forked tongue closes up in the former serpent.

141, 142. **hissing—spluttering.** It is fearful—this first trial of its new faculties by the newly-created serpent-nature, moving off through the valley on its belly, and with no language but a hiss, and the newly-made man, who has not yet acquired the power of human speech, sputtering after him.

142, 143. **he turned his new shoulders.** The serpent, now become a man, turned his new shoulders on Buoso, the newly-made serpent.

the third. Puccio Sciancato, who had undergone no change (ll. 153–155).

147. **ballast.** A highly contemptuous phrase denoting the occupants of the seventh trench. A worthless mass of creatures like the refuse stone or gravel which is useful only for ballasting vessels.

155. **the other one.** This is Francesco Guercio de' Cavalcanti, "the Squinter." He is the "little fiery serpent" of l. 84, and has just exchanged forms with Buoso. He was murdered by the inhabitants of Gaville, a village in the upper Valdarno. Dante says that Gaville mourns for him. because, in revenge for his murder, the Cavalcanti nearly depopulated the village.

CANTO XXVI

Dante's apostrophe to Florence in the first twelve lines of this canto is charged with bitter irony and sorrow.

4. **five.** Cianfa, Agnello, Buoso, Puccio, Guercio.

7, 8. **one doth dream of what is true.** Comp. Purg. ix, 13–18. It was a common ancient belief that the truthful dreams are those of the morning. Three visions of his own are described by Dante as occurring in the early dawn of each of the three mornings passed in Purgatory. See Purg. ix, 19 ff.; xix, 1–33; xxvii, 95–109. Comp. Ovid, "Heroides," xix, 195–196.

9. **Prato.** A town about ten miles northwest of Florence, and usually on friendly terms with that city; so that it is difficult to understand why Dante here speaks of it as an enemy which desires evil to Florence. The reference is, probably, not to the town, but to the Cardinal Niccolo da Prato, whom Pope Benedict XI sent in March, 1303, to Florence, to pacify the factions. Having failed in this effort, Villani relates that, on the fourth of June, 1304, he suddenly departed, saying: "Seeing that ye desire to be at war and under a curse, and do not desire to hear or to obey the messenger of the Vicar of God, or to have rest or peace among yourselves, abide with the curse of God and of Holy Church!" Cron. viii, 69. To this malediction were attributed the calamities which followed—the burning of the Ponte alla Carraja, a wooden bridge over the Arno, by which many people were drowned; and a great fire which

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destroyed, according to Villani, "all the marrow and yolk and the most precious places of the city. And the number of the palaces and towers and houses was more than seventeen hundred."

15. **the stairway.** The stairs formed by the projections of the rock.

19. **the splinters and the stones.** Dante, in ll. 15–20, uses four different words for "rocks." *Borni* (l. 15) occurs but once in the poem, and means "projecting rocks" which served as stairs. It seems to be akin to the French *borne*, a projecting stone placed at the corner of a building to protect the wall from the blows of passing vehicles. In ll. 19, 20, we have *schegge, rocchi, scoglio*. *Rocchio* is "a round piece of rock, or a piece of wood detached from a larger mass" (Inf. xx, 25; xxvi, 17). *Scoglio* is used uniformly of "a projection of rock," usually of the crags projecting from the wall of Malebolge and forming bridges across the trenches (Inf. xviii, 70, 111; xxvi, 20). Once of a sunken rock rising from the bottom of the sea (Inf. xvi, 133). *Scheggio* is "a splinter," a small fragment, not always of rock, but sometimes of wood or other material (Inf. xiii, 43; xxi, 62; xxiv, 28). Once it is used as synonymous with *scoglio* (Inf. xxi, 129).

23. **more my genius curb.** The general sense of ll. 23–28 is as follows: Dante is strongly impressed with the punishment of the Fraudulent Counsellors who have brought it upon themselves by their misuse of superior mental endowments. Therefore, whenever he recalls the horrors of this trench he is moved to put a restraint upon his own genius, lest he should forfeit his superior endowments by abusing them.

27, 28. **To myself I may not grudge it.** Lit. "grudge" or "envy myself."

Ll. 28–35 present one of Dante's long-drawn and involved similes, which contains within itself a number of little incidental pictures, the whole combined in a way which makes the passage very complicated. The main simile is, that he saw a multitude of lights moving in the trench below, as a peasant, from his resting place on a hillside at evening, sees countless fireflies in the valley.

33. **keeps least concealed his face.** In Summer, when the sun is longest above the horizon.

34. **when to the gnat, etc.** Late in the evening, when the flies are gone, and their place is taken by the gnats.

37, 38. **who was with bears avenged.** Elisha. See 2 Kings ii, 23–24.

41, 42. **as to see aught save, etc.** The point of the comparison is that both Dante in looking at the flames, and the spectators of Elijah's translation, saw only the flame and not the person within it.

44, 45. **no one displays its theft.** The flame is represented as stealing away a transgressor and hiding him within itself.

51. **is swathed.** Each one is wrapped and concealed with the flame which consumes him. This punishment of the abuse of the tongue may have been suggested to Dante by Jas. iii, 6.

57, 58. **Eteocles—with his brother.** Eteocles, the son of Oedipus, King of Thebes, and his brother, Polynices. The brothers contended

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for the sovereignty of Thebes, and their quarrel inaugurated the war of the Seven against Thebes, so called because Adrastus, King of Argos, who had espoused the cause of Polynices, his son-in-law, took with him to the assault of Thebes seven celebrated chiefs. Eteocles and Polynices slew each other in single combat. When the two bodies were burned upon the funeral-pyre, the flame, as it mounted, divided into two in token of their bitter hatred.

This is a Theban legend, recorded by Pausanias, and adopted by Æschylus at the close of his "Seven against Thebes." The "Antigone" of Sophocles follows another version of the story, according to which burial was allowed to Eteocles, but refused to Polynices. The incident is related by Statius, Theb. xii, 429 ff.

60. **Diomede.** One of the Greek generals who fought against Troy, and planned with Ulysses the stratagem of the wooden horse by which Troy was captured.

61. **their wrath.** Against the Trojans.

64. **whence issued, etc.** In the person of Æneas, the founder of the Roman state.

66. **Deidamia.** Thetis, the mother of Achilles, left her son, disguised in female attire, in charge of Deidamia, the daughter of Lycomedes, King of Scyros, in order to prevent his accompanying the expedition to Troy. Ulysses, who discovered the disguise, persuaded Achilles to go; and Deidamia, who had become Achilles's paramour and had borne him a son, died of grief.

68. **the Palladium.** The image of Athenê which was preserved in the citadel of Troy, and on which the preservation of the city was supposed to depend. Ulysses and Diomede stole it away.

81. **they haply would be scornful.** Why Vergil should have given this reason for Dante's keeping silent, it is not easy to explain. It is said by some that these Greeks would refuse intercourse with Dante because of their hatred of Troy, whence came Æneas, the founder of Rome, which Dante loved. But for the same reason they would have refused to listen to Vergil. Others hold that Vergil understood their own language, of which Dante was ignorant. But Vergil did not address them in their own tongue. See Inf. xxvii, 20. Another suggests that, according to the rule of the Inferno, Dante speaks only with the modern characters, and Vergil with the ancients. But this would fail to explain the strong expression, "they would be disdainful." The most satisfactory explanation is the simplest. These were great Greek heroes who would disdain to converse with a stranger of the modern world; but Vergil, an ancient poet, who had commemorated them in immortal verse, might expect to be listened to respectfully. See ll. 85–88.

88. **my lofty verses.** The Æneid.

89. **the one of you.** Ulysses.

90. **the greater horn.** The larger section of the flame, because Ulysses was the greater personage.

The story of Ulysses's last voyage and death in the following splendid passage cannot be traced to any source. It seems to have been an invention of Dante. It has nothing in common with the end which is predicted for Ulysses in the Odyssey, xi, 134–137.

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"So at the last thy death shall come to thee
Far from the sea, and gently take thee off,
In a serene old age that ends among
A happy people."

Tennyson's noble poem, "Ulysses," was evidently inspired by Dante.

95. **Circe.** An enchantress who dwelt in the island of Aeaea, and who turned men into beasts. After transforming Ulysses's companions, she restored them at his intercession and through the intervention of Hermes. They remained on the island for a year. The story is told in the tenth book of the Odyssey.

96. **for a year and more.** Odyssey, x, 466–408. Dante may have drawn the tradition of Ulysses and Circe from Ovid, Metam. xiv, 308 ff., since it is not probable that he knew Homer.

97. **near to Gaeta.** According to the Homeric legend, Circe dwelt on the island of Aeaea (Od. x, 135). Dante, following Vergil, Aen. vii, 10–20, places her at the promontory of Circæi, the modern Cape Circello, near to Gaeta, a town on the southwestern coast of Italy, at the upper extremity of the modern Golfo di Gaeta, and named by Aeneas after his nurse. See Aen. vii, 1–2.

98. **fondness for my son.** Comp. Aen. ii, 137–138, where similar words are used by Sinon.

103. **experienced in the world.** Comp. Homer, Od. i, 1–5; but Dante may have recalled Horace's version of Od. i, 3, in his "Ars Poetica," l. 142.

110. **the others.** Corsica, Sicily, and the Balearic Islands

113. **that narrow pass.** The Straits of Gibraltar.

114. **his boundaries.** Two heights, one on each side of the Straits of Gibraltar. The one on the Spanish side was called Calpe, now Gibraltar, and the one on the African side, Abyla. The two were known as "the Pillars of Hercules." According to tradition, the shores were originally united, but were torn asunder by Hercules.

116. **Ceuta.** In Morocco, opposite Gibraltar.

118. **Brothers, etc.** Comp. Aen. i, 198–203.

121. **the world unpeopled.** See Introduction under "Dante's Cosmogony."

128. **our stern.** He marks the direction of the stern, knowing what he was leaving, but ignorant of his destination.

129, 130. **we made wings.** Comp. Aen. iii, 520.

crazy flight. Dr. Moore quotes from C. R. Beazely, "Prince Henry the Navigator": "The Arabs, from whom the Christian world borrowed most of their geographical ideas, even as the Arabs borrowed theirs largely from the Greeks—were adventurous enough in their explorations of the eastern seas, allured by the pursuit and profit of commerce. But they had a strange horror of the Atlantic, 'the green sea of darkness,' and they imparted much of this paralyzing cowardice to Christian nations. It was said that a man who should embark on such a voyage was so clearly mad, that he ought to be deprived of civil rights."

130. **to larboard still.** Their course, at first westward, was continually veering to the southwest.

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132. **the other pole.** The Antarctic pole. They had passed south of the Equator.

134. **beneath the moon.** On the side of the moon turned toward the earth.

137. **a mount.** The mountain of Purgatory.

143. **it smote.** Comp. Aen. i, 114–117.

144. **with all the waters.** The blast made not only the ship revolve, but all the waters round it.

145, 146. **as pleased another.** As pleased God.

CANTO XXVII

4. **consent.** See l. 21.

7, 8. **bull of Sicily.** A brazen bull constructed for Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily, about B.C. 570. In this contrivance victims were burned to death.

9, 10. **of him who—had shaped it.** Perillus, the maker of the bull, is said to have been the first victim.

and that was right. See Ovid, Ars Am., 653–656.

21. **pass on now.** These words are implied in "consent," l. 4.

27. **whence all my sins I bring.** Which is the origin of all my sin.

28. **the Romagnuoli.** Romagna was the former Exarchate of Ravenna. The Exarchate and the adjoining Pentapolis, the five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, received the name of Romania, Romandiola, or Romagna, as having been the chief seat of the later imperial power in Italy. Roughly speaking, it included the district between the Po, the Apennines, the Adriatic, and the Reno, and corresponded to the modern provinces of Bologna, Ravenna, Forli, and Ferrara.

29. **the mountains.** The Apennine ridge. The Tiber has its source at Monte Coronaro. The speaker, Guido da Montefeltro, fixes his birthplace at Montefeltro, now San Leo (see note on Purg. iv, 25), between Urbino, twenty-five miles south of Rimini, and Monte Coronaro in the Apennine ridge to the southwest. The name Monte Feltro, which was originally the name of the town and was transferred to the district, was derived from the ancient Mons Feretrius in the vicinity; so called, it is said, from a temple dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius or "the smiter." The district of Montefeltro formed part of Romagna, and belonged, in Dante's time, to the Dukes of Urbino. The history of the place and of the house of Urbino is related by James Dennistoun in his "Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino."

39. **tyrants.** The great families in the different cities of Romagna, whose hearts are ever burning with mutual hatred.

41. **Ravenna.** See note on Inf. v, 98.

42. **Polenta.** A few miles south of Forli. The Polenta family were Guelfs. They had been lords of Ravenna since 1270. The

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head of the house in 1300 was the father of Francesca da Rimini (see Inf. v), and under the roof of his grandson, Guido da Polenta, Dante passed his last days, and died. The armorial bearing of the Counts of Polenta was an eagle, half silver on a blue field, and half red on a field of gold.

43. **Cervia.** A little town about twelve miles south of Ravenna. Dante means that Cervia is included in the jurisdiction of the Count of Polenta.

44. **under the Green Paws.** Dante means that Forli is now governed by the Ordelaffi, whose arms are a green lion in a yellow field.

47. **did pile the French.** Forli, about twenty miles southwest of Ravenna, became the capital of Guido da Montefeltro after he had subjected the whole of Romagna. The incident here alluded to grew out of the attempt of Pope Martin IV, in 1822, to vindicate the papal claims by sending a French force into Romagna. Forli was besieged, and Guido pretended to surrender the city, and opened a gate to the besiegers, while the garrison withdrew by another gate. Guido fell upon and dispersed the French reserve which was posted in the plain, and then re-entered the town with a division of cavalry, and "made a bloody heap of the French."

47, 48. **Verruchio's Mastiff Old, and the Young one.** Sons of the powerful family of Malatesta, who were lords of Rimini. Their influence began with Giovanni Malatesta, who died in 1247. His oldest son was called Malatesta da Verruchio, from the name of a castle near Rimini which had been presented to the family in return for their services to the city. He succeeded his father, and is the one whom Dante calls "the Old Mastiff." He was the first of his family to become lord of Rimini. One of his sons, Gianciotto, was the husband of Francesca da Rimini, and the other was her lover whom Gianciotto killed. Gianciotto's half-brother was Malatestino, styled by Dante "the Young Mastiff."

Montagna. Montagna di Parcitade, the head of the Ghibellines in Rimini. He was treacherously taken prisoner by "the Old Mastiff," and murdered in prison by the Young one.

49. **make an auger of their teeth.** Harass the people of their subject territories.

50, 51. **the Lion-cub of the white lair.** Mainardo Pagano, lord of Faenza in 1290, and of Imola in 1296. His arms were a blue lion on a silver field. He is called "a demon" in Purg. xiv, 126.

51, 52. **of Lamone and of Santerno.** The cities of Faenza and Imola, designated by their rivers. Faenza was on the Lamone, between Forli and Imola. It is mentioned again in Inf. xxxii, 132, and in Purg. xiv, 107. Imola on the Santerno was the birthplace of Benvenuto Rambaldi, who was the first public lecturer on Dante at Bologna in 1375, and the author of one of the earliest and most valuable commentaries on the Commedia. Dante says (De Vulg. El. i, 15), "The citizens of Bologna, also, get from those of Imola their smoothness and softness of speech, and from those of Ferrara and Modena a spice of sharpness characteristic of the Lombards. . . If therefore the people of Bologna borrow from both these kinds of

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dialect, it seems reasonable that their speech should, by mixture of opposites above referred to, remain tempered with a praiseworthy sweetness."

changing sides. In Romagna Mainardo supported the Ghibellines: but on the other side of the Apennines was devoted to the Florentine Guelfs, out of gratitude for the protection afforded by Florence to himself and his property during his minority. At the battle of Campaldino in 1289 he fought on the Guelf side; the next year he repelled the Guelfs from Faenza and made himself master of the city. From 1290 to 1294 he was in alliance with the Guelf Polentas and Malatestas; but after the peace in 1294, he served the Ghibelline Counts of Romagna. He accompanied Charles of Valois to Florence in 1301. Villani describes him as a great and wise tyrant, wise in war, and very fortunate in many battles, and as holding many castles and having many followers (Cron. vii, 149).

54. **whose flank the Savio bathes.** Cesena, at the foot-hills of the Apennines, "between the plain and the mountain," on the river Savio, between Forli and Rimini.

56. **'twixt tyranny and freedom.** In 1300 Cesena was partially independent. In 1314 it came under the rule of Malatestino, lord of Rimini.

Dante's account of the condition of Romagna may be thus summed up. The Counts of Polenta are now lords of Ravenna and Cervia. Forli is ruled by the Ordelaffi. The Malatestas are, as usual, harassing their subject territories. Mainardo Pagano is governing Faenza and Imola, and Cesena is alternately free, and in the hands of tyrants.

60. **after its own fashion.** See ll. 14–18.

63. **if I thought, etc.** Ordinarily, the souls desire to have their memory perpetuated in the world (see note on Inf. vi, 92); but not when they have been guilty of gross crimes against their fellow-men, which have exposed them to execration.

Guido da Montefeltro's story which follows is justly regarded as one of the finest passages in the poem. Guido joined the Franciscan order in 1296. Boniface VIII had been elected to the Papacy in 1294, on the abdication of Celestine V. (See note on Inf. iii, 58.) This abdication was accomplished through the intrigues of Boniface, then Cardinal Gaetani. The validity of Boniface's election had been early questioned, and was long disputed on the ground that the rights of his predecessor as a legally-chosen Pope were indefeasible by abdication. Prominent among the challengers of Boniface's election were two cardinals of the house of the Colonnas, a powerful Ghibelline family of Rome. Their protest was followed by excommunication and the sequestration of their vast property. Their principal fief was Palestrina, the ancient Praeneste, situated on a lofty hill about twenty miles southeast of Rome, and strongly fortified. This Boniface proceeded to besiege, but unsuccessfully. At this juncture he bethought himself of Guido, the old Ghibelline monk of Montefeltro, who was then living in monastic retirement at Ancona. The Pope summoned him from his cell, gave him plenary absolution for his broken vows, and commanded him to give his

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advice as to the best means of reducing the fortress. Guido demanded further absolution for any crime of which he might be guilty thereafter, and then gave his oracular counsel: "long promise and short fulfilment." A reconciliation followed between the Colonnas and the Pope. The Colonnas afterward asserted that they had been induced to surrender Palestrina on the understanding that the papal banners were to be displayed upon the walls, but that once the papal honor was satisfied, and, possibly, the fortifications dismantled, the city was to be restored to its lords. Boniface, however, commanded that it should be utterly destroyed, and its site ploughed over and sown with salt.

73. **the great priest.** Pope Boniface VIII. See note on Inf. xix, 56.

78, 79. **not of the lion—but of the fox.** His sins were not those of violence, but of fraud. See prefatory note to Inf. xi. This statement, however, does not agree with the character ascribed to him in history, which is that of a distinguished soldier, masterly in war no less than in diplomacy.

83, 84. **should strike the sails.** "And as a good sailor, when he nears the harbor, lowers his sails, and gently and with feeble headway enters it, so should we lower the sails of our worldly occupations, and return to God with all our mind and heart, so that we may enter our haven with all gentleness and peace." Conv. iv, 28, 1.

88, 89. **the chief of the new Pharisees.** Boniface, as the head of the worldly clergy.

90. **hard by the Lateran.** Being a strife with the Colonnas who lived near the church of St. John Lateran.

92. **was Christian.** He means that Boniface's enemies were all within the pale of Christendom. They were neither of the Saracens who conquered Acre, nor of the Jews who carried on their trade in the dominions of the Sultan.

93. **Acre.** The ancient Accho (Judges i, 31); later, as in the New Testament, Ptolemais (Acts xxi, 7), now St. Jean d'Acre, a name which it received from the Crusaders. It lies on the northern extremity of the bay which runs northward from the promontory of Carmel. It was called the key to Palestine. The Franks became masters of it in 1110. It was recovered by Saladin in 1187, and was held by him until 1191, when it was taken by the Christians under Richard Coeur de Lion, and was retained until 1291. It had been assigned to the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, who fortified it strongly, and it was wrested from them by the Sultan of Egypt. Guido's words are a reproach to Boniface for carrying on strife with Christians at home, while he should have been aiding the Christian hosts in the East.

96. **the cord.** The cord of St. Francis. See notes on Inf. xvi, 106; xxiii, 3.

97. **was wont.** The past tense, indicating that the Franciscans had departed from their vow of poverty. They were originally a spiritual force in a movement against the corruption of the church, and an evangelistic force in the interest of penitence and faith; but they were corrupted by the Roman See, and converted into an

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instrument of its own greed and secular tyranny. Preaching for money began early among them. Their profession of poverty became a notorious farce, and their vow was evaded by vesting absolute ownership of all property in the Pope, and enjoying the returns. The property thus vested accumulated so that the two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic were the richest in Christendom.

98, 99. **as—Constantine.** See note on Inf. xix, 119.

Soracte. Now Monte di S. Oreste, about twenty-four miles north of Rome. Pope Sylvester is said to have taken refuge there in a cave during the persecutions of Constantine, and to have been summoned thence by the Emperor. A church and a monastery, both bearing the name of San Silvestro, were erected on the mountain.

100. **an adept.** The word *maestro* also means "physician," which is implied here.

101. **fever of his pride.** His feverish impatience to ruin the Colonnas.

110. **my predecessor.** Celestine V, who prized the keys so little that he voluntarily relinquished them.

118. **Francis came for me.** The counsel to Boniface was given in 1297, and Guido died in 1298, according to some accounts in the Franciscan monastery at Assisi, and according to others at Ancona.

120. **take him not away.** Comp. Purg. v, 112 ff.

124. **he who is not contrite, etc.** Repentance and the will to sin cannot exist together, for that involves a contradiction. Dante everywhere deprecates mere form in religion. Forms of prayer, for instance, avail nothing unless the heart is sincerely enlisted. See Purg. iv, 139–140; xi, 33; viii, 73; vi, 45; xi, 139.

130. **that I was a logician.** Referring to ll. 126–127. I could show that logic could not admit a contradiction.

131. **to Minos.** See Inf. v, 4–13.

133. **having bitten it.** A characteristic expression of his detestation of the crime.

135. **the thievish fire.** See Inf. xxvi, 44–45.

144. **by sundering gain a load.** A burden is commonly acquired by adding or joining things together. Here the opposite is the case. The burden of suffering and punishment comes of dividing—sowing discord.

CANTO XXVIII

1. **unfettered words.** Words freed from the trammels of metre.

6, 7. **if—were gathered, etc.** The following passage, 6–21, is another specimen of Dante's multiplication and elaboration of the details of a comparison, tending to obscure the main point. Simply stated, the comparison is: if the victims of five different scenes of bloodshed could be brought together, the combined effect would not equal the display presented in this Bolgia. But Dante names the different scenes of carnage, and to most of them adds details, and in one instance stops to note his authority for his statement.

8. **Apulian land.** In its widest sense, Apulia originally included the

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whole southeast of Italy, from the river Frento to the Iapygian promontory, now S^a Maria di Leuca, at the very extremity of the heel of the boot.

the sport of fate. Which has experienced changes of fortune. Sometimes, less correctly, it is explained, "doomed to disaster."

9. **Trojans.** The majority of modern editors incorrectly read *Romani*, "Romans." The Romans at the time of the Second Punic war are called Trojans, as having originally come from Troy. Thus Dante says, speaking of the Romans: "the holy race in whom is mingled the lofty Trojan blood." Conv. iv, 4, 4. Comp. iv, 5, 2.

10. **with the rings.** The Romans were decisively defeated by the Carthaginians under Hannibal near the village of Cannae, B.C. 216. The story is that great quantities of rings were taken from the fingers of the slain Roman knights after the victory.

11. **as Livy writes.** Livy's words are: "Then, in proof of this so joyful news, he ordered the golden rings to be poured out in the vestibule of the Senate-House (at Carthage), of which there was such a heap that some have taken upon themselves to say that, on being measured, they filled three pecks and a half. The statement has obtained, and is more like the truth, that there were not more than a peck." Hist. xxiii, 12. Comp. Conv. iv, 5, 4.

13. **Robert Guiscard.** Born at Hauteville, in Normandy, about 1015, and surnamed *Guiscard*, "sagacious" or "cunning." A lively picture of his appearance and character is furnished by Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," ch. lvi. From a very early period Southern Italy had been occupied by Greeks, so that it was known as Magna Graecia. The Saracens came to Sicily in 827 A.D., and after fifty years completed the conquest of that island. The Norman conquests in Italy began early in the eleventh century. Within a hundred years all Southern Italy with Sicily was brought under Norman rule. The Duchy of Apulia began in 1042. In 1053, Pope Leo IX invested the Normans with all that they could conquer in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Robert Guiscard succeeded to the chief command of the Norman forces in 1057. Two years later he was made Duke of Apulia, and for the next twenty-one years was engaged in wars with the Greeks and Saracens in Southern Italy and Sicily. These Greeks and Saracens are referred to by Dante here as "feeling the pain of blows."

15. **Ceperano.** A town in Latium on the bank of the river Liris (mod. Garigliano). Dante alludes to it here in connection with the betrayal of Manfred by the Apulians, just before the battle of Benevento in 1266. On the approach of Charles of Anjou, Manfred posted the Count Giordano and the Count of Caserta at the bridge of Ceperano; but the Count of Caserta abandoned the post, owing, it was said, to a private wrong at the hands of Manfred; and Count Giordano was therefore compelled to retire. There was no battle at Ceperano, as Dante seems to imply, and he may have confused it with the battle of Benevento, where the greater part of the barons of Apulia and of the kingdom, either from cowardice or from treachery, took to flight.

17. **Tagliacozzo.** A village of central Italy in the Abruzzi, twenty miles south of Aquila. On the death of Frederick II, in 1250, his

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son Manfred seized the crown of Sicily and Naples, and held it to the exclusion of young Conradin, the son of Conrad IV of Germany and the rightful claimant. The Pope, filled with hatred for the house of Hohenstaufen and for the race of Frederick, offered the crown to Charles of Anjou, a younger brother of Louis IX of France, who accepted it, and was furnished with money by the Pope to enable him to take possession. He defeated Manfred, who was slain, and assumed the sovereignty. In 1268 Conradin, now sixteen years of age, with Frederick of Austria, crossed the Alps to recover his inheritance, and was joined by the Ghibellines in Italy. The armies met at Tagliacozzo. Charles was routed, and his troops fled; but by the advice of Alardo or Erard de Valéry, the commander of his forces, he kept his reserves in the background until Conradin's German and Spanish troops were scattered over the field in search of plunder. Then Charles threw forward his fresh troops, and completely routed Conradin. See the account of the battle in Villani, Cron. vii, 26, 27.

18. **without weapons.** Alardo won the battle for Charles by his advice, and not by fighting.

22. **middle-piece or stave.** The middle- or side-boards of the bottom of a cask.

32. **Ali.** Adopted and educated by Mahomet and his fourth successor. Mahomet made him his vicegerent, and gave him the hand of his daughter. The question of Ali's right to the succession divided the Mahometans into two sects—the Sunnites, who denied the right, and the Shiites or Shya'ees, who maintained it.

33. **cloven in his face.** Scartazzini points out that Dante has represented Ali with just that part of the body severed which has been left entire to Mahomet, because Ali was the author of a schism among the Mahometans themselves. Mahomet has his body cleft because he sowed schism among the nations. Ali has his head cleft because he sowed schism principally among the heads of the Mahometan sect.

44. **musest.** The word *muse*, which occurs only here, conveys a contemptuous intimation. The verb is defined "to think, to surmise"; but also "to gape idly about; to hold one's muzzle or snout in the air." It is directly akin to *muso*, "snout"; but there underlies it the sense of stupid gazing, with an idle, unintelligent curiosity; snuffing about like a dog with his nose in the air. Scartazzini gives as the primary definition, "to stand lazily in stupid fashion."

56. **forgetful of their torment.** Comp. Purg. ii, 75.

58. **Fra Dolcino.** Dolcino de' Tornielli of Novara, 1305. He was known as Fra ("brother") from his connection with the sect of "the Apostolic Brethren," founded in 1260 by Gerardo Segarelli of Parma, and having for its object to restore the apostolic simplicity of the Church. After the death of Segarelli in 1300, he became the head of the sect. They denounced the Papacy as "the Great Harlot" of the Apocalypse. They held themselves amenable to no papal censure, yet accepted in other respects the entire creed of the Church. Politically they were Ghibellines, resting their hopes on the Sicilian

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house of Aragon. They first appeared as an organized community in 1304 in Piedmont, where they were joined by a multitude of adherents. They professed to live a sternly ascetic life. Clement V, in 1305, issued a bull for their excommunication; whereupon they withdrew to a mountain called Balnera, in the upper part of Val Sesia, and there built a town. They repelled successfully the first attack upon them, and took prisoner the Podesta of Varallo, the leader of the attacking force. A league of Guelf nobles was formed under an oath to exterminate them. This converted the brotherhood into an army, and Dolcino showed himself to be an able general, and thrice defeated the forces of the Bishop of Vercelli. They were finally subdued by starvation, massacred, and burned. Dolcino himself was seized and burned alive with horrible tortures. The estimates of Fra Dolcino differ. Villani denounces him as a preacher of the vilest communism. Milman, whose principal authority is Muratori, is temperate and cautious. Mariotti (an assumed name), "Dolcino and his Times," thinks that he was the victim of unfounded calumnies. Benvenuto da Imola testifies to his learning, eloquence, and fortitude, but believes the reports of his profligate teachings.

60. **to equip himself.** Dolcino and his followers finally succumbed to starvation, and to a heavy fall of snow, which enabled the Novarese, who were leading the attack, to overpower them. Dante represents the schismatic Mahomet, the enemy of Christendom, as sending this message to one who professed to represent primitive apostolic Christianity. It has been suggested that Mahomet may have seen in Dolcino a sympathizer with his own views regarding women. If that be true, it is a keen thrust of Dante, who naturally regarded Dolcino as a schismatic. Benvenuto thinks that Mahomet's interest in Dolcino grew out of his hatred of the Christian Church, of which Italy was the chief seat. If he could prevent Dolcino's heresy from being exterminated he might hope that it would spread through Italy.

77. **the lovely plain.** The plain of Lombardy.

79. **Pier da Medicina.** Medicina was a small town near Bologna. Pier da Medicina belonged to a family who were "captains" of Medicina in the thirteenth century. He was a notorious scandalmonger, and a persistent sower of discord between the houses of Polenta and Malatesta.

80. **Fano's worthiest pair.** Fano was on the Adriatic between Pesaro and Ancona. "The two" are Angiolello da Cagnano and Guido del Cassero, noblemen, whom Malatestino of Rimini, "the Young Mastiff" (see note on Inf. xxvii, 48), invited to a conference at La Cattolica, a small town on the Adriatic, and caused to be drowned by the sailors on their way thither.

87. **Cyprus and Majorca.** Regarded as marking the eastern and western limits of the Mediterranean.

88. **Argive folk.** The early Greek settlers in Italy and Sicily were regarded as brigands.

89. **that traitor.** Malatestino, who had lost an eye.

90. **the city.** Rimini.

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91. **one of my comrades.** This is Caius Scribonius Curio (l. 106). In the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, he was originally an adherent of Pompey, by whose influence he was made Tribune of the Plebs, B.C. 50. In this office he became deeply involved in debt, and Caesar won him to his side by discharging his obligations; Curio having, it is said, saved his life when he was leaving the Senate-house after the debate about Catiline's accomplices. He was a turbulent and unprincipled man, and used his influence against his former friends.

94. **Focara's wind.** Focara was a headland near La Cattolica, and was dangerous on account of ts storms. Angiolello and Guido would have no need to invoke the protection of Heaven against a tempest, because they would be drowned before reaching Focara.

98. **to whom the sight is bitter.** To whom it is painful to have seen Rimini.

101. **this is he himself.** Curio.

102. **banished.** He accompanied Caesar from Rome when the latter was proclaimed an enemy to the Republic by the Senate.

102, 103. **drowned the doubt in Caesar.** Overcame Caesar's hesitation about commencing the civil war. Curio reached Caesar at Ravenna before he crossed the Rubicon. Dante represents him as giving his advice at Rimini, and after he had crossed the Rubicon. Dante follows Lucan, Phars. i, 223–224, who says that after Caesar had crossed the Rubicon he attacked Ariminum, and was there joined by Curio; and that when he was hesitating whether he should advance, Curio answered in the words which Dante here gives in substance: "Away with delays! Delaying has always harmed those who were ready."

111. **Mosca.** Mosca Lamberti. Dante inquired for him when in the third circle (see Inf. vi, 82). He was the one at whose instigation the Amidei murdered Buondelmonte, the crime which led to the introduction into Florence of the Guelf and Ghibelline feuds (see note on Inf. vi, 62). .

112. **a thing once done is ended.** The words uttered by Mosca when the friends of the Amidei were plotting how to avenge the wrong done to their house by Buondelmonte. He was also, according to Villani, one of the murderers.

113. **seed of evil to the Tuscan folk.** Because the murder divided the citizens into two factions. The Buondelmonti became the leaders of the Guelfs, the Amidei of the Ghibellines.

114. **death to thy race.** The Lamberti family. They were driven from Florence in 1258. When the two Jovial Friars, Catalano and Loderingo, were made Podestàs of Florence (see note on Inf. xxiii, 107–108), they appointed thirty-six of the best men in the city as counsellors. In 1266 the Ghibellines began to suspect the thirty-six of favoring the Guelfs, and determined to break up the body. The Lamberti began the attack. From this time the family disappears from the chronicles.

129. **of itself it made a lamp.** He saw his way through the eyes of the head which he held in his hand.

130, 131. **two in one and one in two.** There were two, because

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the body was divided into two parts; but there was only one, because the two parts continued their functions as if united.

140. **Bertrand de Born.** Bertrand de Born, one of the oldest and most famous of the Troubadours, and Lord of Hautefort, 1140–1215. He was a Cistercian monk for twenty years, and a writer of warlike poems, of which a number have been preserved. He was fond of strife, and active in promoting it among his neighbors.

142. **to the young king.** The correct reading is *giovane*, "young," and not *Giovanni*, "John," although the latter is supported by the great mass of manuscript-evidence, and is adopted by some eminent authorities. "The young king" was Henry, the son of Henry II of England (1154–1189). He was twice crowned during his father's lifetime, in 1170 and 1172. After the second coronation he claimed to share the royal power with his father, and demanded the sovereignty of either England or Normandy. He was compelled to fly to the French court, but was supported by his mother, Queen Eleanor, by King Louis of France, and by King William of Scotland. He was aided in this rebellion, if not prompted to it, by Bertrand de Born, with whom he was on very intimate terms.

143. **Achitophel.** See 2 Sam. xv, 12 ff.

144. **did no more.** Did not stir up more strife. The fitness of the parallel is obvious, and the grief of David when informed of Absalom's death (2 Sam. xviii, 33) has its analogue in the violent sorrow of Henry II on hearing of Prince Henry's death.

147. **its source.** The spinal marrow. Others explain, the heart.

CANTO XXIX

8. **the vale.** The ninth Bolgia. For the first time, Dante gives a precise numerical measurement of dimension. In Inf. xxx, 89, he tells us that the tenth trench is eleven miles in circuit, showing that the circuit of the trenches diminishes as they approach the central pit. As the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle was understood in Dante's time to be 22:7, the diameter of the ninth bolgia was seven miles, and that of the tenth, three miles and a half. This last included the diameter of the well or pit enclosed within it. There may also be an implication that the number of those guilty of the worse forms of fraud is smaller than the numbers in the higher trenches.

10, 11. **the moon is underneath our feet.** Time in the Inferno is measured by the moon, and not by the sun. Comp. Inf. x, 81; xx, 132–135, and see notes. It was 1 or 2 P.M. The moon was two days past the full.

17, **and, as I went behind.** The sense is: Even while I was apologizing, my guide moved on and I after him, adding, etc.

29. **Geri del Bello.** First cousin of Dante's father, a turbulent and quarrelsome character, who sowed discord among the Sachetti, a noble family of Florence, in revenge for which he was murdered by one of them.

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30, 31. **who once held Altaforte.** Bertrand de Born, who occupied the Castle of Hautefort, near Perigueux.

33. **which is not yet avenged.** Vengeance was regarded in Dante's time as a positive duty, which it was dishonorable to omit. Napier says that it was sometimes allowed to sleep for thirty-five years, and then struck suddenly a victim who had, perhaps, not yet seen the light when the original injury was inflicted.

34, 35. **who of the shame is partner.** The outrage was regarded as affecting the whole family of the injured party.

37. **more compassionate.** Dante thus intimates his approval of the vendetta.

39. **the first place, etc.** They were crossing the bridge which spanned the tenth trench, and had reached the first point which would have commanded a view into the trench if the light had been sufficient.

42. **cloister.** Possibly with an ironical reference to a monastic cloister, although the word does not necessarily imply that. It may be simply an enclosed place, a "close."

44. **lay-brotherhood.** Appropriate to a cloister.

45. **assailed me.** Lit. "pierced me as with arrows."

50. **Valdichiana.** The river Chiana in Tuscany was noted for the sluggishness of its stream, owing to the deposits in its bed, which converted the whole valley into a malarious swamp. Dante, speaking of the evolutions of two clusters of stars which he saw in the heaven of the Sun, says that their motion is as much swifter than we are wont to see, as that of the Primum Mobile is swifter than the motion of the Chiana. Par. xiii, 22–24. The malarious character of the district caused the erection of many hospitals. Modern enterprise has entirely changed its character, and has converted it into one of the most fertile districts of Italy.

51. **Maremma.** See note on Inf. xiii, 9.

Sardinia. Even in modern times the heat and drought of summer develop malaria in the low grounds of the island.

53. **such stench.** See note on Inf. xi, 5.

56. **upon the last bank.** The embankment on the side of the trench nearest the central pit.

62. **Aegina.** An island near the coast of Argolis. Its unproductive soil turned its inhabitants to seafaring. For a long time it was the maritime rival of Athens, until, after the Persian war, its fleet was destroyed in a sea-fight with the Athenians, and many of the inhabitants were driven from the island. It revived after the fall of Athens, but never recovered its former prosperity. According to legendary history, Aegina was the birthplace of Aeacus, who, after his death, became one of the judges in the lower world along with Minos and Rhadamanthus. Jupiter having become enamored of the nymph Aegina, Juno depopulated the island by a pestilence. Aeacus besought Jupiter to repeople it; whereupon Jupiter transformed all the ants into men, who were called Myrmidons. The story is told by Ovid, Metam. vii, 523 ff., from whom Dante derived it.

78. **as baking-pans—lean.** A contemptuous simile. Dr. Moore

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calls attention to the contrast presented by the language in which the same posture is described in Purg. xiii, 56–64.

86. **the nails downward dragged, etc.** The disgusting realism of this picture needs no comment.

93, 94. **forever may thy nails suffice thee.** Insulting contempt. Comp. Inf. xxx, 33, 34.

97. **broke their mutual support.** They ceased leaning against each other.

108, 109. **I was an Aretine.** The speaker is one Griffolino, an alchemist. Arezzo is in Tuscany, midway between Florence and Perugia.

110. **Albero of Siena.** Said to have been the natural son of a Sienese bishop.

117, 118. **I made him not a Daedalus.** I did not teach him to do what Daedalus did when he made wings for Icarus. See note on Inf. xvii, 107.

119. **by one.** The Bishop of Siena, who regarded Albero as his son although he was illegitimate.

124, 125. **so frivolous as are the Sienese.** Comp. Purg. xiii, 156. Dante's contempt for the Sienese appears in many passages of the Commedia. It is, in part, an expression of the bitter hatred which, for more than a hundred and fifty years, had existed between Siena and Florence. This reached its climax in the expulsion of the Ghibellines from Florence in 1258, and their warm reception at Siena, in violation of a treaty made in 1255, by which Siena had bound herself not to receive any person banished from Florence; and finally in the battle of Montaperti in 1260, in which the Guelfs of Florence were utterly routed by the Sienese Ghibellines. Apart from these political motives, the character of the Sienese people was repugnant to Dante's stern and severe temperament. Their vanity made them ambitious to excel alike in arms and in arts. They were at once sensual and self-assertive. They mingled religious enthusiasm with partisan bitterness. "The city of civil discord was also the city of frenetic piety." In the Middle Ages they were notorious for the refinements of sensuality. They delighted in all manner of showy pageants, and in the most reckless extravagance in their sensual pleasures. Their sensuous character was stamped alike upon their art and their literature. Of their novelists, Symonds says: "They blend the morbidezza of the senses with a rare feeling for natural and artistic beauty. Descriptions of banquets and gardens, fountains and wayside-thickets, form a delightful background to the never-ending festival of love. . . . Though indescribably licentious, these novelists are rarely coarse or vulgar. . . . Their tales, for the most part, are the lunes of wanton love, day-dreams of erotic fancy, a free debauch of images, now laughable, now lewd, but all provocative of sensual desire. At the same time their delight in landscape-painting, combined with a certain refinement of aesthetic taste, saves them from the brutalities of lust." "Renaissance in Italy," v, 97. Allusions to Siena or the Sienese may be found in Purg. v, 143; xi, 69, 119, 132, 144. The student may profitably consult Mr. J. A. Symonds's "Renais-

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sance in Italy," Professor C. E. Norton's "Church Building in the Middle Ages," and Bassermann's "Dante's Spuren in Italien."

128. **except me Stricca.** Bitterly ironical, since Stricca was notorious for his extravagance. He is said to have been a member of "the Spendthrift Brigade." See note on Inf. xiii, 121.

130. **Niccolo.** Another reputed member of "the Spendthrift Brigade." He is said to have been the author of a cookery-book.

131. **fashion of the clove.** The precise nature of this Epicurean refinement is uncertain. It has been explained as the roasting of game-birds at fires made with cloves; the serving of cloves and other spice with roasted meats; and the cultivating of spices in proximity to each other, so that the various flavors might blend in each.

132. **the garden.** This may mean the company of Epicures or Siena.

134. **Caccia d'Ascian.** Another Sienese spendthrift.

136. **the Abbagliato.** A nickname, "muddle-head," applied to one Bartolommeo de' Folcacchieri, who held high official position in Siena between 1277 and 1300.

137. **backs thee.** Backs your accusation of vanity against the Sienese.

141. **Capocchio.** Meaning "blockhead." An alchemist, whether of Florence or of Siena is disputed. His being burnt at Siena is a historical fact.

144. **Nature aped.** He appeals to Dante's personal recollection that he was a clever mimic. The reference is not to his skill in treating metals.

CANTO XXX

The illustration of insanity with which the Canto opens is drawn from Ovid, Metam. iv, 512 ff., whom Dante follows closely.

1. **because of Semele.** Semele was the daughter of Cadmus. She became, at Thebes, the mother of Dionysus (Bacchus) by Jupiter. Juno, enraged at Jupiter's unfaithfulness, induced Semele to ask him to appear before her in his full divine majesty; and Semele was struck by his lightnings and burned to ashes. Juno likewise vented her wrath upon the Thebans by smiting with madness Athamas, the lover of Semele's sister Ino, to whom the care of Dionysus had been intrusted by Jupiter. Athamas, in his frenzy, took Ino and her two sons for a lioness and her cubs. He dashed out the brains of Learchus, one of the sons, and Ino with the other son, Melicertes, threw herself into the sea.

2. **more than once.** The other instance of Juno's wrath was in the case of Pentheus, a son of Agave, another sister of Semele. Pentheus was Cadmus's successor as king of Thebes. Being opposed to the introduction of the worship of Dionysus, he was torn in pieces by his mother and Ino. According to one version of the legend, he had concealed himself in a tree in order to witness the orgies of the Bacchantes. According to another version, the women in their frenzy believed him to be a wild beast.

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14. **Hecuba.** The wife of Priam, king of Troy. After the fall of Troy she was carried away by the Greeks as a slave. On the way to Greece her daughter Polyxena was torn from her and sacrificed upon the tomb of Achilles, and at the same time the body of her son Polydorus, who had been murdered, was washed up on the seashore. She went mad with grief, and was changed into a dog, and leapt into the sea. See Ovid, Metam. xiii, 404 ff. Vergil's allusions to Hecuba in the Æneid are merely incidental, and do not touch the events referred to by Dante.

31. **Gianni Schicchi.** A Florentine of the Cavalcanti family, who was noted for his powers of mimicry. As he threw off his own personality in counterfeiting others, so in his punishment he is out of himself.

37. **Myrrha.** The daughter of Cinyras, the king of Cyprus. She conceived an incestuous passion for her father, and accomplished her purpose by passing herself off as another woman. The story is told by Ovid, Metam. x, 298 ff.

41. **that other one.** Gianni Schicchi.

43. **Buoso Donati.** Of Florence. Sometimes identified with the Buoso of Inf. xxv. The story is that with the aid of Buoso's son or nephew, Simone, Gianni Schicchi first smothered Buoso, and then took his place in the bed and dictated a will in favor of Simone, who had feared that the money would be bequeathed to charities. He took care to insert in the will clauses containing bequests to himself, among which was "the lady of the stud," a favorite mare of Buoso's.

50. **fashioned like a lute.** Dante means that his body would have resembled a lute if his legs had been cut off at the groin.

63. **Master Adamo.** Of Brescia. A famous coiner. He was employed by the Florentines to coin their gold florins, and is supposed to have been introduced in 1252, when the florins were first coined. "The florins," says Villani, "weighed eight to the ounce, and on one side was the stamp of the lily, and on the other of St. John." Adamo alloyed them to the extent of three carats, so that the coins contained twenty-one instead of twenty-four carats. For this he was burned in 1281.

66. **the little brooks.** Nothing can be more impressive than the contrast of the flowing streams dashing down their soft, cold channels, with the thirsty misery of the poor wretch. Ruskin says that Adamo remembers the hills of Romena only for their sweet waters; but Mr. Freshfield (Alpine Journal, vol. x, February, 1882) calls attention to the fact that in many mountain districts *canale* is a common term for "a valley," and remarks that the verdure of the hills ("the verdant hills") and their cool, soft glens form an essential part of the picture.

67. **Casentino.** A district in Tuscany, comprising the upper valley of the Arno and the slopes of the Etruscan Apennines.

72, 73. **draws occasion.** Adamo means that the place where he sinned, with its fresh, cool streams, is made the instrument of his punishment by being always before his mind.

74. **Romena.** A village in Casentino, on the Arno. It was

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the dwelling of the Conti Guidi, who had a castle there, Romena, which gave name to the place.

76. **the Baptist's effigy.** "On the gold florin the Baptist was represented standing at full length, with his raiment reaching to the knee, and girt about the loins, his hair hanging over his shoulders, and his head surrounded with a halo. With his right hand he is in the act of giving the benediction after the usage of the Greek Church (*i.e.*, with the thumb and little-finger joined, and the other fingers opened wide). In his left hand he holds a staff terminating in a cross, surrounded with the inscription, "S. Johannes B." Orsini, "History of the Florentine Coinage."

78, 79. **Guido—Alessandro—their brothers.** The Guidi were one of the richest and most powerful families of Italy during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. They became lords of nearly the whole of Romagna. They established their principal seats in the Casentino, but had also large possessions on the other side of the mountains. In the thirteenth century they occupied important official positions both in Romagna and Tuscany. The names mentioned in this line are names of Counts of Romagna, the unnamed brother being Aghinolfo. It was at the instance of these three that Adamo debased the florins.

80. **Branda's fount.** Commonly referred to the well-known fountain at Siena, but almost certainly a fountain of the same name in the neighborhood of Romena, the scene of Adamo's crime. Bassermann says that it is on the southern slope of the hill of Romena, choked with rubbish, and almost dried up.

82. **the maddened shades.** Schicchi and Myrrha.

89. **eleven miles.** See note on Inf. xxix, 8.

100. **the deceitful woman.** Potiphar's wife. Gen. xxxix, 7 ff.

101. **false Sinon.** One of the numerous illustrations of Dante's habit of placing side by side examples from Scripture and from profane or mythical history. Sinon allowed himself to be captured by the Trojans, and then, by a false story, persuaded them to admit within the city the wooden horse with the armed Greeks concealed inside. The story is told in Aen. ii, 57 ff.

133. **Narcissus's looking-glass.** A clear pool in which one might see his face reflected. The story of Narcissus, who became enamored of his own image which he saw reflected in a fountain, is told by Ovid, Metam. iii, 407 ff.

140. **as he is who dreams of his own hurt, etc.** Dante's simile is: As one who dreams of something which is injuring him, and in his dream wishes that he might be only dreaming, which really is the case, so I, being speechless with shame, desired to excuse myself, and was unaware that I was doing so by my very inability to express myself. In other words, I was as ignorant of the fact that I was making the best possible excuse, as the dreamer is ignorant of the fact that he is dreaming.

151. **if fortune chance again to find thee, etc.** Vergil has to reprove Dante again for a similar fault. Purg. v, 10 ff.

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CANTO XXXI

In the ninth and last circle, Treachery, the worst form of Fraud, is punished.

1. **first wounded me.** Referring to Vergil's rebuke at the close of the preceding canto.

4. **Achilles's lance, etc.** The father of Achilles was Peleus. The healing property of the lance appears in the story of Telephus, the son of Hercules, who attempted to prevent the Greeks from landing on the coast of Mysia. Dionysus caused him to stumble over a vine, whereupon he was wounded by Achilles. Being informed by an oracle that the wound could be cured only by the wounder, Telephus applied to Achilles and was cured by means of the rust of the spear which had wounded him. That the spear formerly belonged to Peleus is related by Homer as follows: "The spear—which indeed no other of the Greeks could brandish, but Achilles alone knew how to wield it, a Pelian ash which Chiron had given to his sire from the top of Pelion." Il. xvi, 143. Dante did not obtain the story from Homer, whom he did not know, but quite probably from a passage in Ovid's "Remedia Amoris," l. 48, in which occur the words "Pelias hasta," meaning "the spear from Pelion," but which Dante supposed to mean "the spear of Peleus." Versions of the story appeared in several thirteenth century poets, in which the lance of Peleus was referred to. Several extracts from these poems are given by Mr. Paget Toynbee in the article "Peleus" in his "Dante Dictionary."

10, 11. **less than night and less than day.** A dim, gloomy atmosphere.

15, 16. **which counter to itself pursued its course.** He means that the sound of the horn turned his eyes toward the place from which it proceeded, and that as the sound came toward him, his eyes followed a contrary direction—toward the source of the sound.

18. **Charlemagne, etc.** At the Diet of Paderborn in 777, some Mahometan ambassadors appeared before Charlemagne, professing to represent the large number of Arabs in Spain who were dissatisfied with the rule of their Emir at Cordova, and desired to put themselves under Charlemagne's protection, and to secure his aid in throwing off the Emir's rule. Charlemagne accepted the offer, and in the spring, two armies, made up from all the people in alliance with the Franks, started for the South, one going by the way of the Mediterranean, the other over the Pyrenees and through the valley of Roncesvalles. Both armies were to meet at Zaragoza, which was to be immediately surrendered. They found the city, however, closed against them. The Spanish expedition was a failure. On Charlemagne's return, the Basques fell upon his rear-guard in the pass of Roncesvalles, and annihilated the whole body together with their leader, Roland or Orlando, Charlemagne's nephew and Count of the March of Brittany. It was said that Roland in his extremity sounded a bugle-call, which was heard by Charlemagne eight miles away. There is also a legendary account to the effect that Roland and his force were destroyed by an army of Saracens,

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through the treachery of Ganelon, Roland's step-father. Ganelon is mentioned in Inf. xxxii, 131.

19. **the sacred squadron.** So called because of their holy war against the Moslem infidels.

33. **giants.** It does not appear why Dante places the giants at the entrance of the circle of traitors. Their crime was that of violence against the gods, and one would expect to find them in the third round of the seventh circle, with Capaneus. See Inf. xiv, 45 ff. The reference to Aen. vi, 580–581 does not seem to furnish a sufficient explanation.

42. **Montereggione.** Montereggione is a Sienese castle about eight miles from Siena, situated on the crest of a low hill, and surrounded with a wall surmounted by fourteen towers about a hundred feet apart, round the entire circuit. Bassermann says that most of the towers are not much higher than the wall, having been worn down by the lapse of time.

53, 54. **if—she repents her not of elephants, etc.** When Dante says that Nature did well in ceasing to produce such monsters, it might be answered: "Why not then cease to create other monsters, such as elephants and whales?" Dante anticipates this by saying that the giants were more dangerous because possessed of reason.

60. **Saint Peter's pine-cone.** A colossal pine-cone of bronze, which once crowned the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castle of St. Angelo). If Dante was among the Jubilee-pilgrims in 1300 (see Inf. xviii, 30, 31), he would have found this cone in a portico in front of St. Peter's. Toward the end of the fifth century it was placed upon the metal cover of a fountain erected for the use of pilgrims in the fore-court of the Vatican basilica. It now stands in one of the Vatican gardens, Giardino della Pigna. It is seven and a half feet high.

65. **three Frisons.** Friesland was one of the northernmost provinces of Holland, and its inhabitants were renowned for their great stature. The entire height of the giant according to Dante's reckoning was about seventy feet.

70. **Rafel mai amech, etc.** This is mere gibberish. In ll. 81, 82, Dante distinctly says that it is "known to no one." It is appropriate to Nimrod, to whom tradition ascribed the building of the tower of Babel, and who is therefore associated with the confusion of tongues. In Purg. xii, 33–36, he is sculptured on the wall of the first terrace, standing bewildered at the foot of the tower; and in Par. xxvi, 124–125, he is mentioned in connection with the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues. See also De Vulg. El. i, 7, 26.

72. **thy horn.** Assigned to Nimrod as "a mighty hunter." Gen. x, 9.

77. **he doth accuse himself.** By his jargon and his mental confusion (ll. 70, 75).

78. **Nimrod.** In Scripture Nimrod is not represented either as a giant or as the founder of the tower of Babel. Dante, no doubt, drew these representations from such authors as St. Augustine, Isidore, Orosius, Hugh of St. Victor, and Brunetto Latini.

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82. **such as his to others.** Scartazzini's query is pertinent: Why did Vergil speak to Nimrod if he knew that his words would not be understood?

95. **Ephialtes.** Son of Neptune. With his brother Otus he made war upon the Olympian gods, and attempted to pile Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. See Verg. Georg. i, 280–283. Another case in which Dante places side by side a Scriptural and a mythical personage.

99. **Briareus.** Or Aegaeon, another of the giants who assailed Olympus. He was slain by Jupiter with a thunderbolt, and buried under Mt. Aetna. Vergil represents him as having a hundred arms and fifty heads. Aen. x, 565–568. See Purg. xii, 28.

101. **Antaeus.** Son of Neptune and the Earth. He was invincible so long as he remained in contact with his mother, Earth. Hercules discovered the secret of his strength, lifted him into the air, and crushed him.

102. **speaks and is unfettered.** In contrast with Nimrod he speaks, and he is unchained because he was not present at the battle of the giants with the gods. Dante refers to him, De Mon. ii, 8, 10; Conv. iii, 3, 7. He draws the story principally from Lucan, Phars. iv, 587–633.

109. **Ephialtes—shook himself.** Ephialtes was enraged at being described as less fierce than Briareus.

115, 116. **the vale favored by fortune.** The valley of Bagrada near Zama, in Numidia, on the borders of the Carthaginian territory, where Hannibal was defeated by Scipio, B.C. 202. According to Lucan, Phars. iv, 587 ff., Antaeus had his abode there. For the epithet of the valley, "favored by fortune," comp. Inf. xxviii, 8.

116. **Scipio.** Known as Africanus Major.

117. **an heir of fair renown.** The battle of Zama brought the second Punic war to an end, and caused the submission of the Carthaginians.

119. **a thousand lions.** Lucan relates that Antaeus dwelt in a cave in the valley of Bagrada, lying hidden beneath a high rock, and devouring lions which he had captured. Phars. iv, 585 ff.

123. **the victory would have won.** Vergil flatters Antaeus in order to secure his services in conveying Dante and himself into the ninth circle.

126. **Tityus—Typhon.** Antaeus's brother-giants, an appeal to his jealousy.

127. **that which here is craved.** Remembrance and repute among the living.

139. **the Carisenda.** One of the leaning towers at Bologna. It stands not far from the tower of the Asinelli, also leaning, which is more slender and graceful, and is considerably higher. The Carisenda is a hundred and thirty feet high, and leans eight feet from the perpendicular to the south, and three feet to the east. Dante's illustration is most felicitous. When a cloud passes over the tower in a direction opposite to the inclination, it seems to the spectator as though the structure were falling. Such was Dante's impression as Antaeus bent toward him.

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149. **as in a ship a mast.** Antaeus, rising again to his erect position, is compared to a mast which has been temporarily lowered and is again set upright.

CANTO XXXII

The ninth circle is devoted to Treachery, the worst type of Fraud. It is divided into four rounds. The first is devoted to traitors to their own kindred, and is named Caïna, after Cain the murderer of his brother. In the second are punished traitors to their country, city, or party. This is named Antenora, from the Trojan Antenor, who, in the Middle Ages, was universally regarded as the betrayer of Troy to the Greeks. The third round contains traitors to guests and companions, and is named Tolomea, after Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, the captain of Jericho, who treacherously murdered Simon, the third of the Maccabean princes, with two of his sons at a banquet, B.C. 135. For the story see 1 Macc. xvi, 11–17. In the fourth round are those who have betrayed benefactors. This is named Giudecca, after Judas Iscariot, and here Lucifer is eternally fixed at the centre of the earth. These spirits are wedged in the ice which forms the sloping floor of the pit, and which is made by the freezing of the river Cocytus.

4. **all thrust.** All the rocky walls and declivities of Hell converge to this centre and abut upon it.

express the juice of my conception. I would fully express what is in my mind.

12. **those dames.** The Muses.

Amphion. Amphion, the son of Zeus. He and his brother Zethus marched against Thebes, and after capturing it, fortified it with a wall. Amphion had received a lyre from Hermes (Mercury), on which he played so skilfully that the stones, of their own accord, moved down from Mt. Cithaeron and arranged themselves in the wall.

20. **the lofty wall.** The rocky bank which encloses the ninth circle.

23. **the wretched, weary brothers.** The two mentioned in l. 44. Comp. Purg. x, 123–124.

29. **Tanais.** The river Don.

31. **Tambernich.** This mountain cannot be decisively identified. By different commentators it has been placed in Armenia, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, etc. Some modern authorities incline to the Javornick, near the grottoes of Adelsberg in Carniola.

32. **Pietrapana.** Identified by some with Pania, one of the peaks of the Alpe Apuana, in the northwest of Tuscany. The region of Lunigiana is known to have been familiar to Dante. In the little town of Mulazzo, north of Spezia and near the river Magra, Dante resided for a time in 1306, with Franceschino Malaspina, to whose family Lunigiana belonged. A tower is to be seen on the height on which Mulazzo stood, which is popularly known as "Dante's tower,"

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and there is a house at the foot of the tower in which Dante is said to have lived. Bassermann, whose chapter on Lunigiana ("Dante's Spuren in Italien") will well repay reading, says that Mulazzo affords a wonderful view of the Apuan Alps, with the giant peak of Pietra Apuana rising prominently behind the lower hills.

33. **crack.** In the original, *cric*, evidently chosen to suggest the cracking of the ice.

38, 39. **to the note of storks.** Their teeth were chattering with the cold, and sounding like the chattering of storks. The stork makes a loud noise with the clattering of its mandibles.

39. **his face turned down.** Through shame; desiring to avoid recognition.

40. **from their mouth the cold, etc.** The chattering of the teeth was evidence of the cold, and the tears of the inward anguish.

49, 50. **only—within were moist.** Up to this point no tears had been shed. The eyes were moist or soft only within. When the tears gushed forth they were immediately congealed.

58. **mirror thyself in us.** Lit. "gaze as if looking at a mirror."

60. **Bisenzio.** A river of Tuscany falling into the Arno, about ten miles below Florence. In its valley were the castles of the Alberti of Mangona.

61. **from one body issued forth.** The two sons of Alberto were named Napoleone and Alessandro. The castle of Mangona rightfully belonged to the latter, and was seized by his brother. The Florentines expelled Napoleone, who was a Ghibelline. When the Guelfs returned to Florence in 1267, Alessandro was reinstated. It was said that in a subsequent quarrel the brothers killed each other.

63, 64. **set in jelly.** Ironical for "fixed in the ice."

65. **cloven with a single blow.** Mordred, the son of the mythical King Arthur of Britain, who was slain by his father when he treacherously attempted his life. The legend goes that the wound made by Arthur's sword was so wide that the sunlight appeared through it. Dante's acquaintance with the Arthurian legends is shown by his repeated references to them. See Inf. v, 67, 129, 137; Par. xvi, 15; Conv. iv, 28, 3.

66. **Focaccia.** A member of the Cancellieri family of Pistoia. Accounts about him vary, but he appears to have been prominently concerned in the feud between the two branches of the Cancellieri family which resulted in the Black and White factions. He is said to have been guilty of at least two treacherous murders, and of cutting off the hand of a young cousin for an insult to his uncle, Focaccia's father. The family feud finally reached such proportions that the Pistoians called in the aid of Florence; and the White and Black factions were thus introduced in due time into Florence itself.

69. **Sassol Mascheroni.** A Florentine who murdered his nephew, or, as some say, his brother, for the sake of his inheritance; for which crime he was rolled through the streets of Florence in a cask full of nails, and was afterward beheaded.

73. **Camicione dei Pazzi.** Known only for his treacherous murder of his kinsman Ubertino. The Pazzi were a Tuscan family. Their

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possessions lay between Florence and Arezzo. They were partly Guelf and partly Ghibelline, but finally identified themselves with the Whites.

74. **Carlino.** One of the Pazzi family. During the siege of Pistoia by the Florentine Blacks and the Lucchese in 1302, he held the castle of Piantravigne in the Valdarno for the Whites of Florence, but for a bribe delivered it into the hands of the Blacks. This act had, of course, not occurred at the date of Dante's vision, 1300; but Dante places him in Caïna by anticipation, by making Camicione say that he is expecting him. The crime properly belongs in the next round.

75. **extenuate my guilt.** Carlino's crime was so much worse than Camicione's that it would make the latter appear trivial, and so excuse him.

76. **purple.** There is some controversy about the meaning. It probably means "livid" or "purple" with the cold; but others explain "grinning like a dog."

82. **if it were will.** It is significant that Dante hints that his act may have been intentional. Not "the will of God," or "of Heaven," but his own will. Dante utters no expression of regret. Comp. Inf. xiii, 44, 52–54.

86, 87. **for Montaperti—to aggravate the vengeance.** To aggravate the retribution which I am suffering for my treason at Montaperti. It is Bocca degli Abati who is speaking. At the battle of Montaperti in 1260 (see note on Inf. x, 88), he appeared on the side of the Florentine Guelfs; but at a critical moment treacherously cut off the hand of the Florentine standard-bearer, thus creating a panic, which resulted in the defeat of the Guelfs.

97, 98. **if thou wert living, all too hard, etc.** Bocca supposes that Dante is a damned spirit, and is surprised that a shade can inflict a blow that would be hard, even if he were alive.

101, 102. **I crave the contrary.** Bocca has no desire to be remembered in the world, but he has a fiendish pleasure in revealing the names of his companions, who, like himself, wish to remain unrecognized. See l. 115. This is a kind of treachery appropriate to the circle in which he is punished.

123, 124. **who had his tongue—so prompt.** The one who had called Bocca by name, l. 115.

124, 125. **he is lamenting the silver of the French.** Buoso da Duera, a Ghibelline of Cremona, and one of the heads of the party. Being instructed by Manfred in 1265 to block the passage of Charles of Anjou, who was on his way to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, it was charged that he connived at Charles's advance, having been bribed by the French. For this act the whole of the Duera line in Cremona was exterminated by its citizens.

127. **in the cool.** The phrase is a popular one for being in a predicament.

128, 129. **him of Beccheria.** Tesauro de' Beccheria of Pavia, Abbot of Vallombrosa, and legate of Pope Alexander IV in Florence. After the expulsion of the Ghibellines from Florence in 1258, he was

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put to torture and beheaded by the Florentines on the charge of having intrigued with the Ghibellines.

131. **Gianni de' Soldanier.** A Ghibelline of Florence. When Florence rose against the Ghibellines and expelled them, Gianni took sides against his own party.

Ganelon. According to the version of the legend which ascribes Charlemagne's disaster at Roncesvalles to the Saracens (see note on Inf. xxxi, 18), the destruction of Charlemagne's rear-guard and the death of Roland were brought about by the treachery of Ganelon, Roland's step-father. The story is that Charlemagne, hearing the horn of Roland, proposed to turn back and aid him, but was dissuaded by Ganelon, who said that Roland often sounded his horn merely for amusement.

132. **Tribaldello.** Of Faenza, a Ghibelline who, in order to avenge a personal affront, treacherously opened the city gates in 1280 to the Bolognese Guelfs. His name is sometimes given as Tebaldello.

140. **Tydeus—Menalippus.** Tydeus was one of the companions of Adrastus in the expedition of the seven against Thebes (see note on Inf. xxvi, 57, 58). He was mortally wounded by Menalippus. Athené appeared with a remedy which was to make him immortal; but finding him gnawing the head of Menalippus, she left him in disgust.

CANTO XXXIII

14. **Count Ugolino.** Ugolino della Gherardesca, Count of Donoratico, was born in the first half of the thirteenth century. He was the father of five sons and three daughters. His third daughter was the wife of Giovanni Visconti, Judge of Gallura, one of the four judicial districts into which Sardinia was divided by the Pisans to whom the island belonged in Dante's time. Owing to complicity with a movement to shift the Sardinian administration from Ghibelline to Guelf hands, Ugolino's son-in-law, Giovanni Visconti, was expelled from Pisa and declared a rebel, and Ugolino himself was imprisoned. Upon his liberation he formed a league with the Lucchese and the Guelfs of Tuscany, and forced the Pisans to restore the exiles, among whom was young Nino Visconti, the son of Giovanni. Ugolino succeeded so well in conciliating the Pisans, that he was chosen captain of the force against the Genoese with whom the Pisans had been at war since 1282. In the bloody naval battle of Meloria, August 6th, 1284, the power of Pisa was forever broken. In some quarters Ugolino was suspected of having treacherously brought about this disaster by an untimely retreat. The Florentines, Lucchese, and other Guelfs now plotted to bring Pisa back to the Guelf party. Ugolino, knowing the impossibility of thwarting their design by force, had recourse to cunning. He made over to the Guelfs of Florence the strongholds of S. Maria in Monte, Fucecchio, Castelfranco, and S. Croce e Montecalvoli; and to the Guelfs of Lucca, Bientina, Ripafratta, and Viareggio. By this means he saved Pisa from extermination; for when the Genoese arrived at Porto Pisano

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with a large fleet, the Florentines and Lucchese, won over by the gift of Ugolino, refused to co-operate with them by a land assault upon Pisa. Before the arrival of this fleet, Ugolino had been elected Podestà for ten years. His young nephew, Nino Visconti, whom he associated with himself, was ambitious to have too large a part in the administration, and a quarrel was the result. The Guelfs became divided, Ugolino leading one faction and Nino the other. Ugolino then intrigued with the Ghibellines, whose leader was Archbishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, and with his aid succeeded in expelling Nino. Having thus succeeded in weakening the Guelfs, Ruggieri turned upon Ugolino and succeeded in imprisoning him with his two sons and two grandsons. After eight months in prison they were left to starve.

It is difficult to decide why Ugolino is condemned to Antenora. Not for treachery at Meloria, for the charge is without proof, and is disproved by the fact that, soon after the battle, Ugolino was elected Podestà. Not for the gift of the strongholds, for by means of that, the city was saved. It may have been that Dante regarded Ugolino and Ruggieri as alike traitors to their own city in conspiring to expel Nino Visconti. Each was attempting to further his own interests at the expense of the community Nino appears in Purgatory, in the Valley of the Princes. Purg. viii, 54.

It will be noticed that Ugolino says: "I *was* the Count Ugolino." Dante habitually speaks of permanent conditions, such as name and personality, in the present tense. For transient conditions, such as residence or title, he uses the past. A striking instance is found in Purg. v, 93. See, also, Par. vi, 10.

23. **cage.** The Italian *muda* is akin to the English *mew*.

24. **"Hunger."** The tower was originally called "the Tower of the Gualandi at the Seven Streets." The Gualandi were a noble Ghibelline family of Pisa. The tower was situated in what is now the Piazza dei Cavalieri, upon which seven streets open from different directions. It received later the name of "the Tower of Hunger." It was destroyed in the seventeenth century. Bassermann says that the horrible character of the place may be inferred from a document in the Pisan archives, according to which the removal of the prison was resolved upon in 1318, on the ground that it was too near the "House of the Elders," to whom it was offensive by its foul odor; and that it was so confined and devoid of all conveniences, that prisoners died before their time.

25. **others yet must be confined.** Ugolino anticipates that the political dissensions in Pisa will cause the imprisonment of others.

29. **this man.** Ruggieri.

30. **the wolf and whelps.** Ugolino and his sons and grandsons. It has been suggested that Ugolino in the dream is represented by the wolf, because he was a Guelf, the name Guelf being originally Welf (see note on Inf. vi, 62). The evidence, however, is not satisfactory that "throughout the Commedia the Wolf is symbolical of the Guelf party" (see Mr. Paget Toynbee's "Dante Dictionary," under "Guelfi"); nor that Dante thought of "Guelf" as derived from "welf."

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31. **the mountain.** Monte San Giuliano, between Pisa and Lucca.

34, 35. **Gualandi, Sismondi, Lanfranchi.** Three leading Ghibelline families employed with their attendants ("hounds") as the Archbishop's agents.

47. **by reason of his dream.** Apparently the sons also had dreamed of starvation.

78, 79. **stronger than my sorrow proved my fasting.** The meaning is that the want of food killed him. The horrible suggestion has, however, been found in the words, that Ugolino fed upon his dead children, which is most improbable. Mr. William W. Vernon ("Readings on the Inferno of Dante") says, very sensibly: "The Count had seen the last of his children drop off between the fifth and sixth days. His own vital powers, though not extinct, are so much impaired that he is only able to crawl along and feel their dead bodies, his sight being gone. He is in no condition to have the physical power to commit the deed of cannibal voracity that some of the modern commentators have attempted to impute to him. He simply lingers on for two days in the extremity of weakness, and then he says: 'the want of food was more efficient than the anguish of heart that had kept me alive longer than my sons.'"

The word *digiuno* is not "hunger," but "abstinence from food," which impairs the strength, rather than the *desire* for food, which impels one to seize even upon that from which nature recoils.

Neither Villani, nor Buti, the commentator of the fourteenth century, who was a Pisan, makes any mention of a horror which, if it had occurred, must have been generally known. Buti says that after eight days the bodies were taken out dead, and says nothing about their mutilation.

84. **the si is heard.** *Si*, "yes." Dante distinguishes French, Spanish, and Italian by the particle of affirmation: in Spanish, *oc*, in French *oil*, in Italian *si*. See De Vulg. El. i, 8. *Oc* is *hoc est; oil* is *hoc illud est, ouill, oui; si* is *sic est*.

86. **the Caprara and Gorgona.** Two small islands in the Mediterrancan. Capraia or Caprara is about twenty miles east of the northern point of Corsica. Gorgona is farther north, about twenty miles southwest of Leghorn. Gorgona is to be seen directly in front of the mouth of the Arno, and Caprara is visible a little to the south.

90. **betrayal of thy fortresses.** See note on l. 14.

92. **their youthful age.** Hardly, as Villani, "young and innocent boys"; but Dante uses the words of youth. One of them at least is known to have been married. Only Anselmuccio appears to have been under age.

93. **Uguccione and Brigata.** Uguccione was Ugolino's fifth son. Nino il Brigata was his grandson.

94. **the two others.** Anselmuccio, Ugolino's grandson, and Gaddo his son.

95. **still farther on.** Into the third round, Tolomea.

97. **not downward turned.** In Caïna the damned are fixed in ice up to the head, keeping their faces downward. See Inf. xxxii, 39, 57. In Antenora also they are encased in ice to their head, but do not seem to have their heads inclined. In Tolomea they lie

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on their backs with their face upward, and with only their face out of the ice. In Giudecca they are entirely covered.

98, 99. **weeping forbids weeping.** The frozen tears prevent their shedding tears.

109. **all vapor at an end.** Wind being caused by exhalations produced by heat, and there being no sun to produce exhalations, Dante asks how there can be wind in that place.

114, 115. **the final place has been assigned to you.** The speaker supposes that both the poets are dead and on their way to the lowest round.

122. **down to the bottom of the ice.** Dante is intentionally deceiving the spirit. He does not mean to keep his agreement (see ll. 154–155), and he so frames his words that they cannot bind him. He is going to the bottom of Hell in any case.

123. **Friar Alberigo.** Of Faenza. One of the Jovial Friars (see note on Inf. xxiii, 105) in 1267. Having in a dispute received a blow from his younger brother, Manfred, Alberigo, some time later, invited Manfred and one of his sons to a banquet at his house. The repast being finished, he called out: "Bring the fruit!" at which some assassins came from their hiding-place and killed both Manfred and his son. "The evil fruit of Frate Alberigo" passed into a proverb.

125. **for a fig get back a date.** I received a large return for my crime. In Italy dates, at that time, were more expensive than figs.

126. **art thou already dead?** Dante is surprised to find here one whom he supposed to be still living. Alberigo was not yet dead in 1300, the date of the vision.

128. **no knowledge I receive.** See note on Inf. x, 101 ff.

129. **such privilege.** Mr. Butler says that the "privilege" assigned to this circle is one of Dante's most original and terrible conceptions. It may have been suggested by Ps. lv, 15; and it is in connection with this very form of treachery that the Psalmist utters these words. See vv. 12–14, and ver. 23. Note that in ver. 15 "quick" means "alive."

131. **Atropos.** One of the three Fates. Clotho, the Spinner, spins the thread of life; Lachesis, the Disposer of lots, determines its length; Atropos, the Inflexible, cuts it off. Clotho is usually represented with a spindle; Lachesis with a scroll or globe; Atropos with a pair of scales or shears, or in the act of drawing a lot.

sets it moving. Dante means simply that before Death starts the soul on its journey to the world of spirits, it goes down to Hell.

136. **governs it.** Comp. Purg. v, 116.

137. **a well.** The original is *cisterna*, a peculiar term for the pit of Hell.

142. **Branca d'Oria.** Of the Ghibelline house of Doria at Genoa. About 1290, he treacherously murdered his father-in-law, Michael Zanche, Governor of Logodoro in Sardinia, at a banquet to which he had invited him.

146. **eats and drinks and sleeps.** A sarcastic summing up of Branca's life.

147. **Malebranche.** See note on Inf. xxi, 36. Dante means that

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before Michael Zanche had come to the fifth Bolgia to which he had been condemned for barratry (see Inf. xxii, 89), Branca d'Oria and his nephew and accomplice had arrived in Tolomea, and their bodies on earth were occupied by devils.

154, 155. **I did not—unclose them.** See note on l. 122. Comment is needless upon the pitiless brutality which Dante vents upon this wretch. It is in the very spirit of the imprecatory Psalms.

156. **Ah, Genoese!** The Italian proverb about Genoa is: "Sea without fish, mountains without wood, men without faith, women without shame." Mr. Hare says that it is probably of Pisan origin.

160. **the worst spirit of Romagna.** Frate Alberigo. Faenza was in Romagna.

162. **Cocytus.** The frozen lake in the ninth circle was formed by the waters of the infernal river Cocytus. See, on the rivers of Hell, Introduction, under "Dante's Hell." Comp. Inf. xxxi, 125.

CANTO XXXIV

1. **Vexilla Regis, etc.** An adaptation or parody of the opening of the hymn of Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, 530–609. It was sung during the procession, when, after the adoration of the cross, the Host, consecrated on Maunday Thursday, was carried to the altar. Daniel calls this hymn one of the grandest in the treasury of the Latin church. In the original hymn "the banners of the King" refer to the cross.

11. **wholly covered.** In contrast with those in the three other rounds who were only partially imbedded in the ice. See note on Inf. xxxiii, 97.

18. **once with the fair semblance graced.** Before he fell from heaven.

20. **Dis.** Lucifer is called Dis, which originally denoted godhead, deity in general, and Zeus in particular. Later it was confined to Pluto, the god of the infernal regions.

39. **three faces.** The symbolism of these three faces has called out a variety of conjectures, such as Avarice, Envy, Ignorance; Anger, Avarice, Envy; Concupiscence, Ignorance, Impotence; Pride, Envy, Avarice; Rome, Florence, France; the three divisions of the earth. It seems likely that the three faces are intended to form a counterpart to the divine Trinity. Dante, following Aquinas, holds that Power is the peculiar attribute of the Father, Wisdom of the Son, and Love of the Holy Spirit. See note on Inf. iii, 6. Consequently the three Satanic faces will represent the opposites of these—Impotence, Ignorance, Hatred.

45. **where the Nile descends.** Ethiopia.

45, 46. **beneath each—two great wings.** Six wings, because he had been one of the Seraphim. See Par. ix, 77–78. Comp. Isa. vi, 2.

bird. Comp. Purg. ii, 37, where the Pilot-angel is called "the bird divine."

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47. **sea-sails.** Comp. Milton of Satan:

"his sail-broad vans."

54. **a brake.** An instrument for breaking hemp or flax.

65. **Brutus.** In the assassination of Julius Cæsar, Brutus, from Dante's point of view, was guilty of treachery to the Empire, which, like the Papacy, was divinely ordained. Dante regarded Julius Cæsar as the first Roman Emperor. See note on Inf. i, 67.

66. **so large of limb.** It is not known from what source Dante derived this description of Cassius. It has been suggested that he confused him with one L. Cassius, one of Catiline's fellow-conspirators, who is described by Cicero in the third Catilinarian Oration as "corpulent." But that is not Dante's epithet, and there is no evidence that Dante was acquainted with those orations. Plutarch implies that Caius Cassius was pale and somewhat weakly; and so Shakespeare:

"Yond' Cassius has a lean and hungry look."

68. **rising is the night again.** It is nightfall of Easter-eve.

77. **turned his head.** They turned the centre of gravity, and began to ascend toward the surface of the opposite hemisphere. Dante was not aware of this, and supposed that they were going back to Hell.

85. **placed on the edge.** Dante had been clinging to the shaggy hide of Lucifer. Vergil now transfers him to the edge of the opening through which they had passed.

86. **he stretched his wary step.** Vergil next lets go of Lucifer's hair, and carefully steps to Dante's side.

91, 92. **fancy if I then became perplexed.** My perplexity will be understood by those who, like uneducated people, know nothing of the centre of gravity.

94. **half way to the third hour.** The day is divided into four equal parts of three hours each, known as *terza*, *sesta*, *nona*, and *vespro*. Reckoning sunrise at 6 A.M., half way to the third hour will be one hour and a half, or 7.30 A.M. See Conv. iii, 6, 1; iv, 23, 8. There is no contradiction between this and l. 68, because they have changed hemispheres. The time has gone back twelve hours. Hence the word "returns." Dante explains this in ll. 105–115. Having quitted Hell, time is now measured by the sun. While they were in Hell, it was measured by the moon.

95. **palace-hall.** Strictly a room with a hearth in it.

107. **evil worm.** Lucifer. "Worm" is also applied to Cerberus, Inf. vi, 20. Lucifer is said to bore the world, partly because the pit of Hell was formed by his penetrating the earth to the centre when he fell from Heaven, and partly because in his position at the centre, he is in both hemispheres. See Introduction under "Dante's Hell."

113. **the great continent.** Lit. "the great dry land." The northern hemisphere is covered with land. Lucifer, when he fell from Heaven, struck the earth on the southern hemisphere, which, at that time, consisted of land, and tore through to the centre of the

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globe. The land of the southern hemisphere retreated from him in terror, and withdrew to the northern hemisphere, and the sea came up and covered the space which it left.

116. **upon a little round.** Dante had asked: "Where is the ice?" Vergil's reply, in substance, is: "The ice is under your feet. You are standing upon a small circular platform. The upper side of this on which you stand is the stone of the perforated rock (l. 84), corresponding to the under side, which is formed by the icy floor of Giudecca, the smallest of the rounds.

121. **he fell down upon this side.** See note above on l. 113.

126, 127. **vacant left its place.** This is explained by ll. 122 ff.

there is a place, etc. This is the long, dark passage by which the poets are to ascend to the light of day. Vergil speaks of it as "below," from the point of view of one standing on the earth. He says that it was formed by the transfer of the land from the southern to the northern hemisphere at the fall of Lucifer, and that, perhaps, the land withdrew in order to escape him.

128. **Beelzebub.** See Matt. xii, 24. The only occurrence of the name in the Commedia. The fallen angel is called by Dante "Lucifer"; "Dis"; "the hostile power"; "the king of Hell"; "the creation which had the fair semblance"; "the emperor of the doleful realm"; "the wicked worm that pierces the world"; "he who was created more noble than any other creature"; "he who first turned his back on his Creator"; "the first haughty one"; "the highest of all created beings"; "the perverse"; "the one straitened by all the weights of the world"; "Satan"; "the Devil."

130. **a brooklet.** In Purg. i, 43, it is called "the blind or dark river." It is commonly understood as the outflow of Lethe, which descends from the summit of Purgatory, and bears down to Hell the expiated sins, as the infernal rivers, Acheron, Styx, and Phlegethon carry down into Hell the whole mass of sins committed by men on earth. See Inf. vii, 17, 18. It should be noted, however, that in Inf. xiv, 136–137, Vergil says: "thou shalt see Lethe, but *outside* of this ditch, there where souls go to purge themselves when their sin has been repented of and removed"; and further, that there is nothing whatever in the poem which indicates the connection of this stream with Lethe.

138. **the beauteous things.** The stars. Comp. Inf. i, 39. These were the stars of the early morning, as appears from Purg. i, 20–26.

140. **the stars.** Each division of the poem closes with this word.

THE END

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